

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

DATE: 9/17/65

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-41324)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS - C

EXTREME CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH THE HANDLING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED SOURCE. SINCE THIS INFORMATION WAS CONFIDENTIALLY RECEIVED AND BECAUSE BY ITS VERY NATURE IT TENDS TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT UNLESS THIS INFORMATION IS CORROBORATED THROUGH ANOTHER SOURCE, THAT IT NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE THE BUREAU AT THIS TIME.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 2 copies of an informant's statement dated September 15, 1965, containing information orally furnished on September 15, 1965, by CG 5824-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN. This information was reduced to writing on September 17, 1965, and the original report is maintained in Chicago file A)134-46-9346.

2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM).

⑤ - New York (RM)

(1 - 100-84994 GUS HALL)

(1 - 100-16785 JAMES JACKSON)

(1 - 100-269 HENRY WINSTON)

(1 - 100-80641 CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)

(1 - 100-153735 CIRM)

3 - Chicago

(1 - A)134-46-9346)

(1 - 61-867 CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

RWH:mkp
(10)

100-153735-1874

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
SEP 19 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signature]



September 15, 1965

On September 11, 1965, GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, remarked that JIM JACKSON had not as yet prepared the draft resolution on the Negro question for consideration at the forthcoming national convention. HALL stated he had talked about this matter to CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT recently and that the two of them have now decided that if JACKSON does not have this draft resolution prepared by the time they hold the next National Negro Commission meeting in early October in New York, then LIGHTFOOT and HENRY WINSTON will prepare it and ignore JACKSON on this matter.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

DATE: 9/17/65

FROM : SA JOHN C. SEATON

SUBJECT: CIRM

Rerep of SA JOHN C. SEATON dated 7/30/65, at NYC.

The next quarterly report on Communist Influence in Racial Matters is due 11/1/65. The following case files should be reviewed in order to determine if there is pertinent information to be reported in this report:

- Cominfil CORE
- " NAACP
- " NALC
- " SCLC
- " SNCC
- Progressive Labor Party
- Socialist Workers Party
- Workers World Party

If there is information to be reported in this matter, inserts for the report should be prepared by the Agents to whom these cases are assigned and forwarded to the Supervisor #42 no later than October 15, 1965.

In regard to characterizations of individuals mentioned in the inserts, do not characterize anyone in the body of the insert, but prepare a rough draft characterization for inclusion in the Appendix Section of the report. No one

- 1-NY (100-79303) (COMINFIL CORE) (41)
- 1-NY (100-7629) (COMINFIL NAACP) (41)
- 1-NY (100-139834) (COMINFIL NALC) (41)
- 1-NY (100-149194) (COMINFIL SCLC) (41)
- 1-NY (100-147963) (COMINFIL SNCC) (41)
- 1-NY (100-147372) (PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY) (44)
- 1-NY (100-4013) (SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY) (44)
- 1-NY (100-137309) (WORKERS WORLD PARTY) (44)
- 1-NY (100-153735) (CIRM) (42)

JCS:rmv
(9)

100-153735-1875

SEARCHED _____	INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____	FILED _____
SEP 17 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	



NY 100-153732

will be characterized in the body of the report, but instead, all individuals who can be characterized will be characterized in the Appendix. If an organization has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450, it should be characterized in the body of the report and all other organizations will be included in the Appendix Section.

The insert should be dictated and the stenographer instructed to type it on a stencil.

9/17/65

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)
SUBJECT: CIRM

Re Atlanta telephone call to NY, 9/16/65, and
NY telephone call to Atlanta, 9/17/65.

STANLEY D. LEVISON observed on 9/17/65, by
SAS JAMES G. FITZGERALD and JOHN C. SEATON boarding
Delta Airlines Flight Number 817 which departed Newark
Airport at 10:30 a.m. for Atlanta to arrive at 11:22 a.m.
LEVISON appeared to be travelling alone; BILL STEIN was
not listed as one of the passengers on this flight. LEVISON
was dressed in maroon sport coat, black slacks, black shoes,
white shirt, tie, carrying natural color raincoat, no hat.

3-Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
1-Atlanta (100-6670) (Info) (RM)
1-NY (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (42)
1-NY (100-153735) (42)

JCS:rmv

(7)

Searched _____
Serialized _____
Indexed _____
Filed _____

100-153735-1876

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442929)

9/23/55

SAC, NEW YORK (100-153733)

CIRM

ReBulet to Chicago, 9/17/55.

Plans exist for a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the CPUSA, on 10/9 and 10/15. It was also reported that a day or two previous to October 9, a meeting of the National Negro Commission of the Party will be held in New York City.

Baltimore, Chicago and Philadelphia, should advise NY as soon as possible of the informants who will attend the National Negro Commission meeting.

NY will afford whatever coverage which is possible.

- 2-Bureau (100-442929) (RM)
- 2-Baltimore (100-23443) (RM)
- 2-Chicago (100-41524) (RM)
- 2-Philadelphia (100-47072) (RM)
- 1-NY (100-153733) (42)

JCC:rmv
(2)

100-153735-1877

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Searched _____

Serialized _____

Indexed _____

Filed _____



DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

9/20/65

SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

CIRM

ReNYlet to Bureau, 7/30/65.

[redacted] reside on [redacted] Palisades, NY. She is employed by an attorney, [redacted] 20 Main Street, New City, NY, and he is employed by NYC Board of Education at Public School #43, where he served as [redacted]

b6
b7C

with respect to the employment of [redacted] with the NYC Board of Education, New York, UACB, will interview [redacted] in regard to HARRY H. WACHTEL. Both [redacted] will be interviewed away from their residence and employment.

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Bureau will be promptly advised of the results of these interviews.

100-153735-1878

3-Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
(1-100-457828) (HARRY H. WACHTEL)
1-NY (100-93585) [redacted] (42)
1-NY (100-97362) [redacted] (40)
1-NY (100-148289) (HARRY H. WACHTEL) (42)
1-NY (100-153735) (42)

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JCS:rmv
(7)

SEPT. 20, 1965

MEMO, SAC
Attention SUFFERN RA

Re: CIRM
WAS. _____
SECURITY MATTER - C

The captioned subject was reported residing at _____, and employed as a _____ at the _____, as of _____, 19__.
Subject's spouse is _____.

The subject has been reported involved in the following subversive activity on the dates shown:

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____

It is requested the following investigation be conducted: (Check where applicable.)

- A. Verify current employment and residence.
- B. Determine current Credit Record, it being noted the subject's credit was last checked _____, 19__.
- C. Determine current criminal record, it being noted the subject's criminal file was last reviewed _____, 19__.
- D. Obtain background, and dates, from subject's employment record.
- E. Check subject's marriage record at Probate Court, it being noted subject was reported married _____, 19__, at _____.
- F. Check official birth record at Bureau of Vital Statistics, it being noted subject reported born on _____, 19__, at _____.
- G. Determine whether subject has access to classified or restricted material.
- H. Conduct neighborhood investigation; the following specific information is desired: _____
- I. Check Security Informants, it being noted _____, _____, and _____ have given information in the past.
- J. Review INS records.
- K. Determine if subject has military service.
- L. Obtain photograph of subject (), description (), handwriting specimen ().
- M. Determine subject's education; check school or college records, it being noted subject was reported attending _____ in 19__.
- N. Determine subject's status of health.

The agent conducting the investigation will be alert for any evidence of subversive activity and in addition will _____

(use reverse side, if necessary)

Enc. Serial/s 1659 1697
100-153735-1883

*Lead assigned
Taher*

JOHN
SA # 42

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
SEP 21 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

J. Steiner

Please verify the residence and employment
of and interview them
with respect to HARRY H. WACHTEL. Please
refer to serials 100-153735-1659 and 1697,
both of which are attached.

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File—Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

648-16-83475-1 GPO

File 100-153735-1882 Date _____
Class. Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

1882 Serial sent to Bureau, per 5/11/77
Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
BuFile 62-117194d

Section #23

Employee

RECHARGE

Date _____

To _____ From _____

Initials of Clerk { _____

Date { _____

Date Charged

Employee

Location

File—Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

648-16-83475-1 GPO

File 100 - 153735 - 1881 Date _____
Class. Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No.	Description of Serial	Date Charged
<u>1881</u>	<u>Serial sent to Bureau, per</u> <u>Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,</u> <u>titled; Bernard S. Lee v.</u> <u>Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.</u> <u>BuFile 62-117194d</u>	<u>5/11/77</u>

Section #23

Employee

RECHARGE

Date _____

To _____ From _____

Initials of Clerk { _____

_____ }

Date { _____

_____ }

Date Charged

Employee

Location

File--Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

e43-15-83475-1 GPO

File 100 - 153735 - 1880 Date _____
Class. Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

1880 Serial sent to Bureau, per 5/11/77
Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
BuFile 62-117194d

Section #23

Employee

RECHARGE

Date _____

To _____ From _____

Initials of Clerk { _____

Date { _____

Date Charged

Employee

Location

File—Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

48-16-83475-1 GPO

File 100 - 153735 - 1879 Date _____
Class. Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No.	Description of Serial	Date Charged
<u>1879</u>	<u>Serial sent to Bureau, per Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77, titled; Bernard S. Lee v. Clarence M. Kelley, et. al. BuFile 62-117194d</u>	<u>5/11/77</u>

Section #23
Employee

RECHARGE Date _____

To _____ From _____

Initials of Clerk { _____

Date { _____

Employee

Date Charged

Location

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, BOSTON DATE: 9/21/65
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-)
SUBJECT: POSSIBLE SUBVERSIVE AND/OR COMMUNIST
LINKS BETWEEN HARLEM AND AFRICA

Identity of source [redacted] who has furnished
Description of info reliable info in the past Communist Contacts in Harlem, NYC
Date received 8/27/65
Received by SA [redacted] (written)
Original location [redacted]

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b7D

A copy of informant's written report follows:

- 1-Boston (105-11873) (BOB COLLIER) (RM)
- 1-[redacted]
- 1-NY 100- (BABU) (31)
- 1-NY 100-138651 (BILL EPTON) (44)
- 1-NY 100- [redacted] (312)
- 1-NY 105-71003 [redacted] (41)
- 1-NY 157-927 (RAM) (43)
- 1-NY 100-154525 [redacted] (43)
- 1-NY 100-151776 [redacted] (43)
- 1-NY 105-69417 [redacted] (43)
- 1-NY 100-138440 [redacted] (43)
- 1-NY 100-145486 [redacted] (43)
- 1-NY 100- [redacted] (43)
- 1-NY 100-133629 [redacted] (44)
- 1-NY 157-892 (BLACK ARTS THEATER) (42)
- 1-NY 100-153533 ("LIBERATOR") (43)
- 1-NY 100-153735 (CIRM) (42)
- 1-NY 100- (FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - CUBA) (312)
- 1-NY 100- (FOREIGN POLITICAL MATTERS - TANZANIA) (31)
- 1-NY 100- (POSSIBLE SUBVERSIVE AND/OR COMMUNIST LINKS BETWEEN HARLEM AND AFRICA) (31)

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b7D

HPL:eac
(20)

100-153735-1884

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
SEP 21 1965	
FBI-NEW YORK	
J. SEATON	

NY 100-

Communist contact in Harlem
Requested information

August 8, 1965

The communist contact in Harlem appears to be coming in through the African Countries.

Examples are: In December close contact was made thru BABU from Tanzania with BILL EPTON and also [redacted]

[redacted] These contacts and meetings were set up by [redacted] who was convicted of trying to bomb the Statue of Liberty.

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Up until the December meeting, BILL EPTON was hard pressed for money, after the meeting [redacted] money problems appeared to have eased off.

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b7C

EPTON still maintains close contact with Tanzania, according to [redacted]

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b7C

R.A.M. headed by [redacted] [redacted] This group is known to handle printed matter from Cuba by [redacted]

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b7C

The aforementioned people from R.A.M. have close contact with BILL EPTON, JAMES SHABAZZ, and [redacted] in Harlem. It is highly possible that R.A.M. is supplying money to the Black Arts Theatre, and the Liberator Magazine both of which until the R.A.M. group came upon the scene were having money problems. R.A.M.'s money may be coming in from Cuba by way of Canada. RAM handles the publication Revolution from Cuba, via Canada.

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b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (100-153735)

DATE: 9-22-65

FROM : SA JOHN C. SEATON, #42

SUBJECT: CIKM

On 9/21/65, a physical surveillance was conducted by SAs JOHN R. HAWKEN and JOHN C. SEATON at 200 W 57th Street, NYC, which houses the office of the SCLC. The purpose of the surveillance was to determine if there are any known communists entering the building and going to the offices of the SCLC. On this occasion no unusual activity was observed.

100-153735-1885

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
SEP 22 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

(10)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC (100-153735)

DATE: 9-23-65

FROM : SA JOHN C. SEATON #42

SUBJECT: CIRM

On 9/22/65, information was received that MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. would be in NYC on the afternoon of 9/22/65 and would be staying at the New York Hilton Hotel. A physical surveillance was conducted by SAs [redacted] and JOHN C. SEATON on the afternoon of 9/22/65 at the New York Hilton Hotel, 53rd St. and 6th Ave., NYC. Neither KING nor members of his party were observed on this occasion.

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100-153735-1886

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
OCT 5 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

9/23/65

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

SUBJECT: CIRM
IS-C
(OO: NY)

Re Bureau telephone call, 8/25/65, concerning coverage of STANLEY LEVISON and HUNTER PITTS O'DELL during MARTIN LUTHER KING's presence in New York City.

Physical surveillances of LEVISON and O'DELL on 9/26-27/65, and contact with sources who furnish information regarding racial matters in the New York Office, failed to indicate a contact between KING, LEVISON and O'DELL.

A surveillance at the Americana Hotel on 9/27/65, disclosed KING's presence there, but failed to furnish additional information relevant thereto.

- 3 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (100-6670) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-136535) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-153735) (42)

JMK
JMK: gmd
(7)

Searched _____
Serialized _____
Indexed _____
Filed _____

100-153735-1887

SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-57575)

9/23/65

SAC, NEW YORK (100-137309) (44)

WORKERS WORLD PARTY
IS - WWP

Identity of Source:

[Redacted] (Reliable-
Conceal)

b7D

Description of Info:

Press release of WWP
re Los Angeles riots

Date received:

8/26/65

Received by:

SA A. LEWIS BARNETT

Original Location:

NY 100-137309-1E9(5)

- 2 - Los Angeles (RM)
(1 - 157-) (RACIAL MATTERS)
- 1 - [Redacted] (RM) (44)
- 1 - New York (100-153735) (CIRM) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-69367) (SAM DALLAN) (44)
- 1 - New York

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ALB:jaw
(6)

100-153735-1888

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
SEP 23 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Deaton

NY 100-137309.

"WORKERS WORLD

"46 WEST 21 STREET
"N.Y., N.Y. 10010.
"AL 5-0352

"FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

"August 18, 1965

"Workers World Hails Los Angeles Insurrection as Sign of
Coming Emancipation

"Party Leader Condemns Bloody Suppression by Police and National
Guard

"New York, August 17--Sam Marcy, chairman of Workers World Party today hailed the rebellion of the Black People of Los Angeles as a genuine revolutionary upsurge and a sure sign of the coming black emancipation. Condemning the counterrevolutionary National Guard and calling for workers' solidarity with the black insurrection, he made the following statement in the name of the party:

"When people rise up and face machine guns with fists and sidearms, they are telling the world that they are finished with the old system. The Watts insurrection proves that the struggle for black emancipation has reached a new and higher level and its ultimate victory is certain.

"FREE THE PRISONERS; AVENGE THE MURDERS!

"The Workers World Party calls upon all friends of Black Freedom to rally to the cause of the embattled black masses of Los Angeles, to condemn their oppressors and to avenge the murder of their comrades-in-arms. We denounce the imprisonment of 3,000 innocent people and demand their immediate release. Their imprisonment cannot be considered the punishment of criminals, but persecution of the victims of criminals--the criminals are the little landlords and bosses of Watts and the big landlords and bosses who make up the ruling class of the United States.

"Our party condemns the action of the California National Guard in reinforcing the already Cossack-like police under the notorious racist, Chief William H. Parker. Chief Parker's statement of yesterday: 'We are on top; they are

NY 100-137309

on the bottom' is the voice of the counterrevolution gloating over its victims.

"KIND WORDS AND MACHINE GUN BULLETS

'A few of the rich, it is true, have had kind words for their victims while their paid storm troopers were shooting them down. But this is nothing new. There was always a certain percentage of slavemasters who shed crocodile tears while extracting the maximum sweat and blood from their slaves. Now the percentage is bigger, because the modern masters have to rule by deception as well as by machine guns. They have learned how to disguise the policeman's club with the social worker's crumbs and the sociologist's lies.

'The newspapers have carefully emphasized that mere bystanders and other inoffensive people were hurt in the conflict. (How many thousand inoffensive persons have been lynched in the last 400 years?) It is of course regrettable that innocent persons were hurt, even though this happens in all wars and revolutions.

'But if the black masses did not always pinpoint their real enemy in this uprising -- and they did so far more often than the racist press admits -- it is because the oppression is so extreme, the rage against racial and national indignity is so great. Imperialism always increases national oppression to the bursting point. And the bursting point was reached and passed in Los Angeles last week.

"WHO ARE THE REAL LOOTERS?"

'The ruling class horror at the 'looting' in the Watts district would be comic if it were not so disgustingly hypocritical. No people have been more plundered of their labor, their lives, their nationhood and their very identity than the people now accused of 'looting' the trinkets which their oppressors have been selling them at scandalous prices for years. The real plunderers, whether slavetraders, sweatshop bosses, money lenders or merchants, always stand behind the police and the National Guard, always tell them to shoot in the name of 'public order' or 'protection of women and children.' The real plunderers, the looters of the ages, are the forces against which the black uprising was directed in the first place.

NY 100-137309

'The Watts uprising was accompanied by looting and burning, to be sure. But when was any genuine popular upheaval free from these so-called 'excesses' of the masses? The Watts rebellion is like a hundred or more other rebellions that preceded great revolutions. Without previously prepared positions, without previously chosen commanders, without massive arms and long training -- with only the desperate passion of a people provoked beyond endurance -- men, women, and children fought against machine guns and hardened troops in battle dress. They struck back with the only weapons available to them. They should be praised and honored for this, not castigated and sermonized.

'The hypocrisy of the ruling class, who pretend amazement at the event, is only equaled by the attitude of those treacherous leaders of the oppressed who hold up their hands in horror and condemn the very people who are being shot down for standing on their feet instead of their knees.

'The responsibility for every single killing in the Watts area last week lies squarely at the door of the U.S. ruling class. Any leader of the oppressed who denies this and calls for discipline or punishment of the people is no leader, but a tool of the oppressor himself. That goes double for the powerful labor bureaucracy which has turned its back upon black labor and handed the bosses a lily-white whip with which to beat it down.

'Had these misleaders done their duty in the past, the struggle would not be so difficult today, nor would the workers be so divided as to color.

'But the black masses are determined to win freedom not whatever the odds. And the Workers World Party supports them without reservation.'

F B I

Date: 9/28/65

Transmit the following in ENCODE
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

CIRM.

ON SEPTEMBER TWENTY EIGHT, SIXTY FIVE, NY THREE EIGHT ONE ZERO DASH S ASTERISK FURNISHED INFORMATION WHICH INDICATED THAT MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., CONFERRED WITH STANLEY LEVISON, ANDY YOUNG, BAYARD RUSTIN, [REDACTED] AND HARRY WACHTEL, ON THAT DATE. KING INTRODUCED [REDACTED] AS HIS [REDACTED] [REDACTED] AND WACHTEL AND LEVISON INDICATED THAT THEY DID NOT KNOW HIM.

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KING STATED THE MAIN THING HE WANTED TO DISCUSS WAS THE VIET NAM SITUATION AND THE WHOLE QUESTION OF THE LETTERS (ON PEACE IN VIET NAM). KING INDICATED THAT IF HE DOES NOT WRITE THE LETTERS HE WOULD NEED A REASON FOR NOT WRITING IT. KING SAID HE HAS SEVERAL REASONS FOR NOT WRITING THE LETTERS, AND HE FELT THAT THESE SHOULD BE MADE KNOWN BY A PRESS RELEASE RATHER THAN A PRESS CONFERENCE. KING INDICATED THAT HE COULD SAY THAT

- 1 - Philadelphia (RM)
- 1 - New Haven (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-153735)

JCS:gmd
(4)
1 - Supv. 42

Searched
Serialized
Indexed
Filed
100-153735-1891
11-45-65
Jle

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent 5:19 PM Per [Signature]

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE TWO

NY 100-153735

AFTER CONSULTING WITH HIS ATTORNEYS ABOUT THE LOGAN ACT, IT WAS FELT THAT HE SHOULD NOT WRITE THE LETTERS BECAUSE HE WOULD NOT WANT TO VIOLATE THE LOGAN ACT WHICH WAS A LAW ABOUT WHICH HE KNEW NOTHING AT THE OUTSET. KING STATED THAT THE OTHER REASON IS THAT THE LETTERS WOULD NOT SERVE ANY USEFUL PURPOSE.

KING INDICATED THAT HE WAS TRYING TO AVOID CRITICISM THAT HE WAS BEING FORCED TO BACK UP. HE SAID SOME OF THE CRITICISM WILL BE THAT OR THE PRESIDENT HAD GOTTEN HIM TO ABANDON THE IDEA OF WRITING LETTERS.

LEVISON ADVISED KING COULD SAY THAT IN HIS JUDGMENT HE FELT THE TIME WAS NOT RIGHT AND THAT KING MIGHT WAIT AND SEND THE LETTERS LATER IF THE OCCASION ARISES IN THE FUTURE. LEVISON FELT KING WOULD NOT BE BACKING UP AT ALL BUT JUST WAITING TO DETERMINE THAT THE TIME WOULD BE RIGHT.

RUSTIN SAID HE DID NOT LIKE THE LOGAN ACT WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS A STUPID LAW, AND THAT IT SHOULD BE BROKEN BY SOMEONE.

WACHTEL OPINED THAT FOR KING TO SAY HE DID NOT KNOW ABOUT THE LAW WOULD CAUSE PEOPLE TO SNICKER AT HIM. HE FELT THAT

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b7c

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE THREE

NY 100-153735

WHAT KING SAID ORIGINALLY EXPRESSED HIS VIEWS FULLY AND HAS CARRIED OUT HIS ORIGINAL PURPOSE.

RUSTIN SAID THAT IF THE QUESTION OF THE LETTERS IS BROUGHT UP AT SOME FUTURE PRESS CONFERENCE, IT SHOULD BE BRUSHED ASIDE. RUSTIN STATED TO HAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE OR RELEASE ON VIET NAM IS A MISTAKE BECAUSE IT DOES NOT RELIEVE THE PRESSURE THEY WANT TO RELEASE: "WE WANT HIM TO BE A CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER."

AT THIS POINT, KING MENTIONED HE HAS TO MAKE A SPEECH IN PHILADELPHIA ON OCTOBER FIFTEEN, SIXTY FIVE, IN CELEBRATION OF THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WOMENS INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE OF PEACE AND FREEDOM. KING SAID HE DID NOT SEE HOW HE COULD AVOID TALKING ABOUT PEACE AND VIET NAM AND PAKISTAN. HE SAID NEWSMEN FROM PHILADELPHIA HAVE CALLED HIM PRESSURING HIM FOR STATEMENTS. RUSTIN TOLD KING HIS REAL PROBLEM IS THAT [REDACTED] IS ON THE PLATFORM WITH KING. RUSTIN STATED KING SHOULD NOT BE IN ATTENDANCE AND STATED HE (RUSTIN) WAS TO HAVE BEEN ON THE PLATFORM BUT WAS INDISPOSED AND SO SHOULD KING. IT WAS AGREED BY THOSE PARTICIPATING IN THE CONFERENCE THAT [REDACTED] WAS NOT THE KIND OF PERSON TO BE SEEN WITH. KING

b6
b7c

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

PAGE FOUR

NY 100-153735

INDICATED HE DID NOT WANT TO BE HELD IN A BAD LIGHT BY [REDACTED]
BECAUSE [REDACTED] WAS A FRIEND OF HIS. HARRY WACHTEL SUGGESTED THAT
KING MIGHT GET SOMEONE TO READ THE SPEECH AND KING SUGGESTED
HE MIGHT GET CORETTA (KING) TO READ IT.

LEVISON COMMENTED KING SHOULD REMAIN BASICALLY A CIVIL
RIGHTS LEADER AND NOT A PEACE LEADER.

LHM FOLLOWS.

b6
b7c

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

File-Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

45-16-63475-1 GPO

File 100 153735 Date _____
Class. Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

1889 Serial sent to Bureau, per
1890 Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
BuFile 62-117194d

Section #23

Employee

RECHARGE

Date _____

To: _____ From: _____

Initials of Clerk

Date

Date Charged

Employee

Location

FBI

Date: 4/12/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)
FROM: SAC, SAN ANTONIO (100-9845) (P)
RE: CIRM *100-151548**
IS - C

ReBuairtel to San Antonio dated 4/8/65, San Antonio airtel to Bureau dated 4/5/65, and San Antonio airtel to Bureau dated 3/26/65.

Referenced Buairtel instructs San Antonio to submit amended page 5 for San Antonio LHM dated 3/26/65. This LHM is an amended LHM which was submitted by San Antonio with referenced San Antonio airtel of 4/5/65.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 9 copies of amended page 5 of amended San Antonio LHM of 3/26/65. Enclosed herewith for New York is 1 copy of amended page 5 for that LHM.

INFORMANTS

Due to Bureau instructions for a more accurate and full characterization of [redacted] in LHM, it was necessary to utilize an additional informant; the identity of whom is set forth below. The identity of the other 8 informants is set forth in referenced San Antonio airtel of 3/26/65.

b6
b7C

SA T-9:
Former [redacted]

amended pages placed in serial 1176

DOCUMENTATION OF [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

- 3-Bureau (Enc. 9) (AM RM)
- 1-New York (Enc. 1) (AM RM)
- 13-San Antonio
 - (2-100-9845)
 - (1-157-272 CORE)
 - (1-157-94-Sub 1) (RM, SA)
 - (1-100-3803 [redacted])
 - (1-100-3193 [redacted])

- (1-100-7232 [redacted])
- (1-100-9434 [redacted])
- (1-100-8399 [redacted])
- (1-100-8400 [redacted])
- (1-100-9282 [redacted])

Lead 100-153735-1892

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
APR 12 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

b6
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Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date: 4/9/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)
FROM: SAC, DETROIT (100-32457) (P)

CIRM
MARCHES PROTESTING VOTER DISCRIMINATION
SELMA - MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA
MARCH, 1965
(OO: New York)

Re Detroit airtel 4/2/65, which enclosed a LHM of same date identifying individuals with subversive backgrounds who participated in marches in the Selma - Montgomery, Ala., area during March, 1965, for the purpose of protesting voter discrimination.

ReBuairtel 4/6/65, requesting an amended page two to LHM of above mentioned Detroit airtel 4/2/65.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are nine copies of amended page 2 to the LHM enclosed in referenced Detroit airtel; one copy to New York; and two copies to Mobile.

Source, DE T-14 is former [redacted] who testified on 4/30/54, before an Executive Session of the HCUA during HCUA hearing in Detroit, Mich. [redacted] has subsequently requested that identity be protected and not disseminated outside Bureau. b7D

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 9) (RM)
- ① - New York (100-153735) (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 2 - Mobile (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 12 - Detroit

- (1 - 100-29801 [redacted])
- (1 - 100-18196 [redacted])
- (1 - 100-24781 [redacted])
- (1 - 100-5451 [redacted])
- (1 - 100-23456 [redacted])
- (1 - 100-27815 [redacted])
- (1 - 100-29790 [redacted])
- (1 - 100-18276 [redacted])
- (1 - 100-29662 [redacted])
- (1 - 100-32458 [redacted])

Amended pages done - see serial 1214

100-153735-1893

[Signature]

b6
b7C

OK 4/11/65

CEM/sal
(18)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

SAC, Chicago (100-41324)

9/17/65

Director, FBI (100-442529)

CIRM

ReCGairtel 8/27/65, copies to New York, "CPUSA - Organization, Internal Security - C," which reported information from CG 5824-S* concerning plans for a meeting of the National Executive Committee of the Party scheduled for October 9 and 10, 1965. It was also reported that a day or two previous to October 9th a meeting of the National Negro Commission of the Party will be held in New York City.

Plans should be made by the New York Office for as full coverage as possible of the National Negro Commission meeting and because of its importance relative to captioned matter, information should be promptly furnished the Bureau in a form suitable for dissemination. Keep the Bureau promptly advised of pertinent developments.

2 - New York (100-153735)

*any info scheduled
about HQ. Mr. Jm*

100-153735-1894

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
SEP 17 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	
<i>Seaton J</i>	

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

ASST. DIR
SAC I
SAC II
SAC III
SAC IV

TO : SAC, New York (100-153735)

DATE: 9/24/65

FROM : Director, FBI (100-442529)

SUBJECT: CIRM

Reurairtel and LHM 9/20/65 which reported on a connection of one [redacted] with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and included a characterization of this woman whose full name is [redacted]

b6
b7C

Paragraph 1 of Page 3 records that according to marriage records, [redacted] was first married to one [redacted] on 5/9/47 at New York City. At the top of Page 4, it is reported that on 6/15/47 she informed some associates that she was getting married at the end of the month to [redacted]. It appears that either the date of 5/9 or 6/15 is in error inasmuch as if she were married on 5/9 she would not have indicated on 6/15 that she was yet to be married.

b6
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Recheck dates and advise as to corrections necessary. Also advise other offices which received referenced communications.

100-153735-1895

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SEP 24 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Seaton





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~SECRET~~

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Bu 100-442529

New York, New York
September 20, 1965

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-15-2012

Re: Communist Influence in
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information on July 9, 1965, which indicated that Stanley Levison planned to leave for Atlanta, Georgia, on July 11, 1965, accompanied by a woman, [redacted] whom he intended to introduce to members of the executive staff of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

b6
b7C

The source was unable to advise the reason for [redacted] intended meeting with SCLC members in Atlanta.

b6
b7C

On the night of July 11, 1965, Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) observed Stanley Levison, accompanied by an unknown white female [redacted] board Delta Airlines Flight Number 923, at Kennedy International Airport, New York, which flight was scheduled to depart from New York for Atlanta, at 6:40 p.m.

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A second confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in April, 1964, that Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA), in

100-153735-1876

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~
Group 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

Searched _____
Serialized _____
Indexed _____
Filed _____

~~SECRET~~

Re: Communist Influence in
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

July, 1963. In late 1963 and early 1964, he criticized the CP for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. Levison was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position on civil rights. His differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism.

A representative of the Airport Sales Corporation, United Terminal Building, Insurance Counter, Kennedy International Airport, made available information on July 11, 1965, that [redacted] had made application for insurance on the evening of July 11, 1965. She gave her address as [redacted] Los Angeles, California, and she listed the name of her beneficiary as [redacted] [redacted] New York City.

b6
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On July 20, 1965, a third confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information that [redacted] a member of the Screen Actor's Guild, is married to [redacted] who was born on July 23, 1924.

b6
b7C

On July 20, 1965, a fourth confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information that [redacted] an actor whose legal name is [redacted] is married to [redacted] and that as of February 10, 1965, their address was Suite 607, 1270 Avenue of the Americas, New York City. He was last reported doing a play in New York, for which he received a Tony Award. [redacted] had been residing in California and his address was [redacted] Los Angeles.

b6
b7C

-2-

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Re: Communist Influence in
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

Marriage Records of the Borough of Manhattan,
as reviewed on August 25, 1965, revealed that [redacted]
[redacted] married [redacted] on May 9, 1947, at New York
City. Marriage Certificate Number [redacted] contained the
following descriptive data:

b6
b7C

Name	[redacted]
Race	White
Residence	[redacted] New York City
Occupation	Writer
Date of Birth	[redacted]
Place of Birth	Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Father	[redacted] born in Scotland
Mother	[redacted] born in the United States

b6
b7C

Name	[redacted]
Race	White
Residence	[redacted] New York City
Occupation	Writer
Date of Birth	[redacted]
Place of Birth	Peabody, Massachusetts
Father	[redacted] born in Russia
Mother	[redacted] born in Russia

On September 13, 1965, Annulment Certificate Number
[redacted] Borough of Manhattan, was reviewed and revealed that
[redacted] was granted an annulment from [redacted] on
May 7, 1949. The annulment was granted in favor of [redacted]
[redacted] on the grounds that [redacted] refused to agree
to have children. At the time of the annulment, she was
residing at [redacted] New York City.

b6
b7C

-3-

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Re: Communist Influence in
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

On December 19, 1948, a fifth confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information that on June 15, 1947, [redacted] informed [redacted] that she was getting married at the end of the month. She mentioned that she was marrying [redacted]. She invited the [redacted] to the wedding reception.

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An item on page 21 of the September 10, 1957 edition of "The New York Times" revealed that Martha Dodd Stern and her husband, Alfred K. Stern, were indicted in New York City on September 9, 1957, for espionage. The article stated that the Sterns, who had been residing in Mexico, were subpoenaed several months before by the grand jury which indicted Jack and Myra Sobel. They fought the subpoenas in court, failed to appear, and were cited for contempt of court and fined \$50,000. The article further stated that in July, 1957, the Sterns fled behind the Iron Curtain after renouncing their American citizenship.

"Look" magazine of November 26, 1957, contained an article by Boris Morros entitled, "My Ten Years as a Counter-Spy" in which the author described himself as "an FBI counterspy who had worked in the Soviet intelligence system for ten years. In this article, Boris Morros related his contacts with Alfred K. and Martha Dodd Stern who were to assist in the establishment of a music company to serve as a cover for Soviet Agents.

-4-
~~SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 9/20/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)
SUBJECT: CIRM

ReNYlet to Bureau, 8/24/65, and NY airtel and letterhead memorandum, 7/13/65.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eight copies of a letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above; one copy of the letterhead memorandum is being enclosed for Atlanta and one for Los Angeles.

The sources in the letterhead memorandum are as follows:

Source #1 NY 3810-S*
Source #2 NY 694-S*

- 3-Bureau (100-442529) (Encl. 8) (RM)
- 1-Atlanta (100-6670) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Los Angeles (100-66078) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1-NY (100-155912) _____ (45)
- 1-NY (100-149194) (COMINFIL SCLC) (41)
- 1-NY (100-111180) (STANLEY LEVISON) (42)
- ①-NY (100-153735) (42)

b6
b7c

JCS:rmv
(10)
JM

Chief Clerk
Post

Leaton
100-153735-1897
SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
SEP 20 1965
FBI - NEW YORK
Leaton

NY 100-153735

Source #3

[REDACTED]

contacted by SA [REDACTED]

b6
b7C
b7D

Source #4

[REDACTED]

contacted by SA [REDACTED]

Source #5

NY 1181-S*

The Agents who observed STANLEY LEVISON on 7/11/65,
are [REDACTED] and JOHN C. SEATON.

Marriage records were reviewed by IC [REDACTED]
and Annulment records were reviewed by IC [REDACTED]

b6
b7C

This letterhead memorandum has been classified
"~~Secret~~" because it contains information from NY 3810-S*, a
highly sensitive source furnishing information about racial
matters in the U.S. and the Communist influence therein. It is
also classified "~~Secret~~" because it contains a great amount of
concentrated information from NY 694-S* in order to characterize
STANLEY LEVISON.

St. Louis, Missouri
September 7, 1965

**CONVENTION REPORT
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
SEPTEMBER 3 THROUGH SEPTEMBER 6, 1965
NEW YORK CITY**

The Socialist Workers Party of America held its biennial convention at the Empire Hotel, 63rd and Broadway Streets, New York City, New York, September 3 through September 6, 1965. The convention was held on the mezzanine floor of the Empire Hotel. All delegates were required to report to a desk outside the convention floor and upon presentation of their credentials, were asked to execute a white card giving official information regarding their status in the Party. After doing this, they were given a brown delegate convention kit and a 3 by 5 card which indicated their status in the convention, either delegate, alternate or fraternal, and which was used for official entry into the convention floor.

The convention was opened by ED SHAW, who asked the delegates to approve the selection of the Presiding Committee which had been selected by the National Committee. The Presiding Committee consisted of FARRELL DOBBS, TOM KERRY, ED SHAW, JOE HANSEN, CLIFTON DeBERRY, and WILLIAM WARDE. The motion was passed.

Next was establishment of the Credentials Committee which included MIKE GARZA, Twin Cities; BILL MASSEY, New York City;

Searched _____
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100-153735-1902

SOREN TOROIAN, St. Louis; BEV WULF (or WULP), and ANDREA, Berkeley Oakland Branch.

Next was the formation of the Constitutional Committee, which included JOHN CHELSTROM, Twin Cities; GUS HOROWITZ, Boston, and the third name was not detected. This committee only was comprised of three people instead of the usual five.

Next was the formation of the Nominating Commission and each of the following states were given the following places on the Nominating Commission: New York City - 4 delegates; California - 4; Illinois - 2; Minnesota - 2; Colorado - 1; Massachusetts - 1; Michigan - 1; New Jersey - 1; Ohio - 1; Pennsylvania - 1; Washington - 1; Wisconsin - 1.

There were three Convention Secretaries, of which only two names were developed. One was CONNIE WISEMANN, ^{the other,} / BEA HANSEN. The secretaries advised that tape recordings were made of all proceedings of the convention.

At this stage of the proceedings, LARRY TRAINOR of Boston made a motion that thirty minutes of the convention time be set aside for the ROBERTSON-~~WOHLFORTH~~ appeal to be heard by the delegates to the convention. TRAINOR said that he was in favor of expelling these two members, but nevertheless he felt that the Party should follow the Constitution and allow them to voice an appeal. The motion was defeated.

Comrade GEORGE JONES asked for the floor and made a motion that fifteen minutes be set aside for a review of the Los Angeles Watts riots, and he was informed that this would logically be covered during the sessions on the Negro Movement, and he withdrew his motion.

It was also announced that there would be workshops Sunday night; one workshop to cover defense work required for the ALEXANDER Case, the JOE JOHNSON Case, and the Bloomington youths.

There was also a motion placed on the floor by the National Committee that the Convention confirm the action of the plenum which expelled WOHLFORTH and ROBERTSON. This motion was later officially passed.

The convention then moved to the official adoption of the agenda. This motion was made and passed.

The first speaker for the convention was JOE HANSEN, who reported on the "World Movement". HANSEN began by giving a critical report on the Capitalist system throughout the world and discussed the enormous social forces which are coming into play throughout the world. He said that other Trotskyist Parties throughout the world are looking to the United States Trotskyist Party, the SWP, for great leadership. He made some derisive remarks about President JOHNSON, saying that "he is not normal" and is merely following the policies of ROOSEVELT, TRUMAN, EISENHOWER, and KENNEDY.

HANSEN quoted from a 1945 statement which was published in "The Militant" regarding a report made by General GEORGE MARSHALL. This report by MARSHALL said as early as 1945 that the third world war had begun and the Capitalist countries throughout the world must build up their military plan in preparation; in other words, the war hysteria of a Capitalist system and cold war was initiated by the United States.

HANSEN also referred to a secret paper which was printed in the "New York Times". This secret paper was the National Security Council "68" Report. The "68" report predicted war was hot and cold between the Capitalist and Communist states and urges the Capitalist countries to develop a will to fight and be aggressive with the Communist states. This secret paper number 68 was actually initialed by HARRY S. TRUMAN.

HANSEN said that President JOHNSON and other powerful persons within the United States, such as Wall Street, are pushing for an escalation of the war effort, both in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic and elsewhere. He said that as a good example of this, the United States is no longer serving in an advisory capacity in Vietnam, but has become a participant and step by step it is developing into another Korea. This, however, does have the ruling Capitalist class a little concerned about the time and place of such a war. They probably are for it, but would like to pick the time and place. He said that one of the reasons this

has been going on so far is because they have been sure that they could become participants in the Vietnam situation and get away with it. They have become certain ^{neither} the Soviet Union nor China would become involved.

HANSEN compared the people of the United States with those of the German people who sat by and quietly allowed the mass extermination of the Jews without saying anything. The people of the United States, in addition, were sitting by and not being concerned while the war of crime is being committed upon the people of Vietnam as well as the intervention in the Dominican Republic. JOHNSON's intervention in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic has proved safe since the Soviet Union sat by idly and did not take any strong action to stop them. The Soviet Union could have put strong intervention and probably stopped the United States if they had taken the four following steps:

1. Charge the United States with imperialism in the United Nations.
2. Charge the United States with intervention in the Vietnam Revolution.
3. (Missed)
4. Charge the United States with committing aggression.

He also said that the "68" statement should be capitalized on and develop the workers of the United States to accept Socialism and follow the Party. The people of the United States

will respond to this gesture. Also the Soviet Union should have given Red China nuclear weapons which would be rushed to assist the freedom fighters of Vietnam, as well as they should have asked for international assistance throughout the world to assist the Vietnam Communists, and last but not least they should have actually sent fighter troops into Vietnam to halt this aggression HANSEN said if such a statement would have been issued, it would have stopped the Washington strategists. Instead, however, the USSR regime echoed its old call for a coexistence and did nothing but merely hinted assistance. Moscow followed the predictions of Washington and did nothing. As a result, other Communist countries have done nothing and there has been no countermoves to help Vietnam. Additionally, the USSR did nothing to exploit the advantages which have been developed in Berlin and Greece and other Communist countries as well have become totally complacent to the many activities which have been developing throughout the world for radical action.

Insofar as the Chinese Peking reaction, he said that they are still backward and they cannot do too much and the real responsibility rests with the Soviet Union. The Peking Regime had the right to get USSR backing and they should have pressured the USSR for assistance in Vietnam. He said the MAO Regime did not issue a strong criticism of the Soviet Union like they should have. China has made a condemnation of the United States, which

he termed as correct, but it was merely a propaganda offensive with no real honest gesture to help the Vietnam people. MAO failed to fill the vacuum created by Moscow and merely sat by. They did not correct the false allegations of the Soviet Union which in effect was that the Soviet Union was trying to rush arms to Vietnam but the Peking Regime was blocking these shipments and he accused MAO of factionalism in the following manner: He merely gave demonstrations of propaganda. HANSEN was quite critical of the Peking Regime and recalled the Brussels meeting of the United Committee which the Peking Regime tried to ruin. According to HANSEN, they were to have a march in Brussels and the Peking delegation wanted to march at the head of the demonstration. He said they were pushed back to the rear and JACK GRIFFIN, one of the leading exponents of the Peking Regime, was forced to change his policy regarding his outlook toward that regime. He stated that pro-Peking support is weakening throughout the world in the Trotskyist Movement and many of MAO's representatives and friends throughout the world are breaking away from him and going alone.

Additionally there has been a chill developing between Cuba and Peking. MAO was guilty of a serious insult when a recent Cuban revolutionist traveled to China and MAO refused to meet with him, and Cubans are now beginning to accuse MAO of senility.

Additionally Peking was hasty in recognizing the new revolutionary head in Algeria. This haste to recognize the new

revolutionary head in Algeria was done in haste in order to undercut Moscow and as a result this action backfired and the new regime in Algeria is considered a right-wing regime and Premier BEN BELLA was considered more friendly to the movement. This quick recognition of the Algerian right-wing regime was done for the following reason: At the time of the revolution in Algeria the nation was the site of the upcoming Afro-Asia Conference and Peking wanted to develop a strong leadership at this conference. Peking prestige suffered greatly at the conference as a result of their premature recognition of the new right-wing Algerian Government. CASTRO, on the other hand, HANSEN said, was quick to condemn the new Algerian right-wing government. He praised Cuba for its courage in branding United States the aggressor in Vietnam. Because of the nation's vulnerable spot in being next to the United States, it obviously took a great deal of courage. CASTRO called for a closing of ranks among poor countries and called for the world to brand the United States an imperialist in this action. Additionally CASTRO offered aid in the form of sugar to Vietnam and made fresh appeals to the semi-colonial and colonial nations to assist Vietnam. Insofar as the British bourgeoisie was concerned, it had backed the United States. Prime Minister WILSON apprised the British capitalists of his action. According to HANSEN, WILSON clears all his moves with the United States State Department.

Additionally he accused TITO with going along with the United States as well as the German bourgeoisie. The same would apply to the Japanese Government, and only DE GAULLE seemed to be going it alone, even though the French capitalists want to go along with Wall Street on this matter.

HANSEN then discussed some of the revolutionary opportunities which are a result of the Vietnam crisis. This should lead to additional colonial revolution as well as proletarian revolution as the development of the anti-war movement begins in the United States. It is developing radical tendencies in this country. HANSEN said that the United States was trying to keep the revolutionary activities down throughout the world and was exploiting workers everywhere every opportunity it had and they were also trying to keep their living standards down in order to maintain their aggressive powers. He said, however, that the revolutionary mind and masses showed great recuperative powers and cited examples of Algeria, Vietnam, South American countries, Greece. He reviewed their previous defeats and how the Socialist powers always were on the upswing and ultimately win out. He pointed out that continuous recession in the world will hurt the capitalist movement.

He recounted the speed of events which were taking place during the present era and mentioned a conversation that he had with TROTSKY once many years ago when TROTSKY was astounded at the quick change of revolutionary events. This was much faster

and TROTSKY would have been astounded today were he alive.

HANSEN said we are living in the world of upheaval. He said the Fourth International is represented in all countries and doing a most effective job in an international movement in developing and expanding the Party. He said "It is axiomatic that Trotskyism cannot be built in one country". He said that the SWP has been interested in the world movement and a leader in the Fourth International. Actually the SWP, he said, was a leader in the 1963 Reunification Congress. That reunification, he said, has now been a complete success, and the breach has been healed. It has a broad team of leaders, he said, and does not have a monolithic leadership, but it represents a team action. Since 1963, HEALY and other groups have failed to harm the development of the Fourth International Movement. HANSEN said that the Ceylonese did not do much for the reunification movement and also that PABLO has proven to be against the Trotskyist World Movement. PABLO originally hailed the 1963 reunification and then he began developing other world organizations of his own. Additionally he prepared and issued a factional organ and it has now been proved that PABLO is very much against democratic centralism. The Fourth International therefore has become disassociated with PABLO. In PABLO's last magazine he criticized the SWP by voicing the pet theories of HEALY. GERMAIN, HANSEN said, analyzes PABLO as being close to TITO and KHRUSHCHEV instead of Trotskyism.

HANSEN said that the World Trotskyist Movement is doing well. He recalled the recent funeral of a student in Athens who was a Trotskyist, whose funeral was attended by thousands of people. He considered this a very significant turn of events.

He discussed Peru where he said that BLANCO and his comrades have been imprisoned without trial, but big guerrilla fronts have developed there which have been called CASTRO and Trotskyist in nature. Other Trotskyists in that country are victims of the witchhunt and the situation there bears close watching.

In Bolivia, there is a new military junta dictatorship which has expelled all Trotskyist leaders. LARO was killed by the Army and the rank and file members of the Trotskyist Movement have been victims of the witchhunt there, but there are signs of new underground efforts.

In Argentina, the Trotskyist organization there has published a newspaper entitled "La Verdad", which is printing Fourth International declarations. Actually Argentina Trotskyists now have a member in Parliament, HANSEN said.

In Chile and Venezuela, there are small groups of comrades at work. In Mexico, a new Trotskyist organ has been established, but they lack personnel.

The Canadian Trotskyists are at work he said and for the first time Trotskyist material is receiving French translation in Canada exclusive of printing in France. The material is made avail-

able to all who want it and the Canadian Trotskyists are strong supporters of Cuba he said.

HANSEN said there has been encouraging signs of Trotskyist growth in Europe. He cited Belgium as one nation which was showing healthy growth. There are problems in the British Movement since it is divided he said. There has been an ultra-left split. There has been an active underground in Spain and a new group formed there he said. The movement has suffered in Algeria because the new regime is anti-Trotskyist, but in conclusion he said the Fourth International had made great strides in the reunification program and the Trotskyist Movement was growing throughout the world. The SWP, because of the key role it played in the Fourth International, will reap the most benefit as a result of the strong leadership role in the reunification of the Fourth International.

There was a recess for noon and the afternoon session began with a discussion of the Majority Report. There were many, many speakers, too numerous to report upon, but the following reports revolve around some of the principals who made contributions to the discussion.

The first one was ARNE SWABECK, who represented the minority tendency. He was critical of the time he had been allotted since HANSEN was allowed an hour and a half for his discussion of the majority point of view whereas he, SWABECK, was only allowed thirty minutes. He was critical of the SWP advo-

cating overthrow of the Peking Regime. This was a false policy he said. He did agree with HANSEN on the USSR and he asked the Party to return to Trotskyist principles, which he said the Party was deserting and had neglected. He described the Chinese Revolution as one of the greatest events of the 20th Century. He discussed the Socialist Labour League as being out of the world movement and said it was not in agreement with the SWP. He asked the convention to repudiate the majority policy and adopt support of the Peking Regime.

The next speaker was MILTON ALVIN, Los Angeles, who was followed by MARJORIE SWABECK of Los Angeles. She, too, was critical of the time difference allowed the majority and minority reporters and accused the SWP of no longer being a democratic organization. She also accused "The Militant" of not faithfully reproducing the minority points of view on the Peking Regime. All they did was criticize.

The next speaker was TOM KERRY, who was obviously provoked by the remarks and became highly critical of SWABECK for making the Chinese question a key point on the agenda. He said the pro-MAO group has only two representatives, ARNE and MARJORIE SWABECK, and this question had been resolved some time ago in a previous convention and he thought it was pointless to make this a major issue at the 1965 Convention.

WILLIAM WARDE was the next speaker, who supported the majority point of view.

The next speaker was BOLTON of Milwaukee, who favored support for Peking and said that the Party should move toward solidarity with the Peking Regime.

The next speaker was DAVID STEVENS of New York, who supported the majority point of view. He said that Trotskyism was the key to world revolution in backward areas and colonial countries.

FRANK POWERS of Seattle was the next speaker.

JARRETT spoke in favor of the majority.

The next speaker was PETER ALLEN of Chicago.

Finally JOE HANSEN gave the summary. He gave a very critical, cynical description of the efforts of the minority.

HANSEN said he wanted to reiterate that the SWP was not critical, nor did it condemn the Chinese Revolution, but criticized and condemned MAO and that the SWP has always defended China unconditionally against imperialism. He said, however, that the MAO Regime does not represent the revolution and that the SWP only defends the revolution. SWABECK's main error, he said, is that he identifies the revolution with the regime. He said that the CP is breaking up in Italy and that the Trotskyist Party has doubled in size there.

There was now a vote made on a motion made by ARNE SWABECK on the Chinese question which was a part of the delegate

kit. There were 7 for the motion and 48 against. The 7 represented MARJORIE and ARNE SWABECK and other associates of the Milwaukee and Seattle Branches.

There was a vote of the fraternal delegates and the fraternal delegates voted none for the motion and 38 against.

There was a motion made to adopt the HANSEN report on the world organization. There were 51 for, 7 against. In fraternal votes there were 41 for, 9 against.

At this point in the convention, STEVE ROBERTS asked for the floor and reported to the convention that he recently had an opportunity to travel to Paris and he was most impressed upon visiting "REBA and JOE" and asked the convention to recognize them for their great work in publishing the "World Outlook".

The next speaker was FARRELL DOBBS, who reported on the Political Resolution of the Political Committee. DOBBS said there were many new political trends which were extremely favorable to further growth and perpetuation of the Party. He said it was important for the Party to develop a new political line of approach and that a set of priorities should be established for Party consideration. These priorities should be recognized and should be held in their order.

He said there were three opposing points of view in the Party: (1) the SWABECK point of view; (2) the KIRK-KAYE; and (3) the MILLER-PHILLIPS group. He said that each of these oppos-

ing minority points of view had been argued and defended before the SWP and had been soundly rejected, and now the convention would devote its attention to new opportunities and a new arena of events.

He said the Party must take into consideration the strange groupings of forces which contributed to the election of President JOHNSON. These were a number of coalitions which collaborated in JOHNSON's election, he said, and he included both the Negroes and racists, the warmongers and the pacifists, the Democrats and the Republicans, the workers and industrialists, who all joined hands together to elect JOHNSON. Actually he said this was more of an anti-GOLDWATER vote. He said, however, that this vote should not be construed as a strong gathering around the reactionary banner, but it was just a time for a peace among themselves. This strange coalition is now breaking up and abrupt policy changes are forthcoming, and he cited specific examples as (1) the teach-in movement, (2) anti-war movement activities, and (3) the Los Angeles ghetto situation. All these indicate instability of the capitalistic structure and will lead to new mass radicalization he said, and this mass radicalization is building up and it is inevitable he said. There is now a political transition. Prospects are improving in the radical movement. Recruits are coming in, he said, but we are not ready to enter the political movement. He said that the chief task of the Party is to remain

propagandistic in character. There is no programmatic basis for a radical regroupment at this time he said. The CP is in decline he said and the SP. is expelling its youth. He said that there are some in the Party who are suggesting fusion with the Progressive Labor Group. This group is an opportunist and adventurous group and also anti-TROTSKY and pro-MAO, he said. The SWP would extend fraternal cooperation on valid issues, but it will not weaken the Party's principles by joining in with the Progressive Labor Group. He said the SWP should orient its student youth and Negro militants to develop mass action. He said, however, that the Party is not yet ready to focus on mass leadership. It should get recruits and cited present gains in student youths and Negroes.

He noted a widening gap between the workers and union leadership and cited this as a source of potential recruits for the Party. He said there is a growing sentiment for a change in labor leadership and while the workers were successful in getting these changes, and he cited the case of ABEL replacing MC DONALD in the Steel Workers Union, this was not the leadership change which they really need. This was actually change of face, not leadership. The SWP would support the working membership of the unions in their revolt, but not under any circumstance to have a responsibility for helping new union leaders, no matter who they may be. There has been a number of new caucuses developed, but

none that the SWP can conscientiously support, he said. He suggested that the Party take advantage of rifts in the unions and to educate the members at every opportunity by getting them to read SWP literature and encourage them to join the Party. The Party, he said, must talk politics with the workers and discuss issues of the day.

The Watts ghetto situation, he said, proves the rising sentiment against gradualism and should be proven as a stiffening of Negro demands, who are tired of meeting with Police repression. He criticized Rev. MARTIN LUTHER KING for okaying the Police repression of the riots. DOBBS said that there was a strong relationship with the blacks in Watts and the yellow in Vietnam. Both were fighting for their civil rights and both were receiving brutal Police treatment. The SWP, he said, must circulate its press in the ghettos and back the Negro struggle during elections. The Party, he said, should participate in Negro activities and organizations. Additionally, the Party is moving for a greater contact in the South. This is not a general mobilization, he said, nor are there to be any free lancers, but carefully planned communication with Negroes in the South.

He viewed the SWP policy on military issues. He compared it with the original 1940 position of the Party. He cited the anti-war movement as one of the most important and largest growing tendency in the country and criticized the imperialistic

war lords who are intensifying their efforts in Vietnam, the ultra basic change in the 1940 policy.

DOBBS warned the Party of untempered and individualistic courses of action which tend to hurt the radical movement. He cited the example of the youths in New York City burning their draft cards and as a result new legislation was developed in Congress which would make it an offense to burn a draft card. This, he said, therefore kill chances to oppose the draft on a mass basis. He warned of such steps without approval of the Party National Committee.

DOBBS discussed the anti-war movement as broadening. DOBBS said that the reason the Party was able to successfully fight MC CARTHY-type loyalty/^{oaths} was because of strong central leadership. He said that the anti-war movement was broadening and was composed mainly of student youth, some teachers and civil rights workers and union people. These people, he said, want the United States out of Vietnam. He said, however, that students have little knowledge regarding the youth movement and many show a pacifist flavor to their actions. Youth are against their exclusion in the anti-war movement. They do not want any Red-baiting, he said. DOBBS said that the DuBois Clubs and the Progressive Labor Groups are trying to capture the anti-war movement. The SWP will oppose the DuBois Clubs and the Progressive Labor in this effort, he said. He wants total support for

the anti-war movement. He called for greater unity and strength in this direction. He called for support of the Continental Congress which was called to develop the anti-war movement. The SWP supports this he said. He said the SWP should do the following:

(1) Demand withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam without discussion or negotiation;

(2) Stress the right of Vietnamese people for their self-determination;

(3) Proclaim the justice of the guerrilla fighters in Vietnam.

DOESS went on and said there were bright prospects in the anti-war movement. He said this will help develop the youth movement, of which the SWP can be proud. He said that presently student youth represents a major source of recruiting for the Party and the student youth have been a vitalizing factor in the over-all recruiting program. This should be given top priority by the Party. Additionally, the Party should develop a youth cadre as an attempt to strengthen itself and should prepare itself for new opportunities which will develop a greater force in the radical movement.

The minority report was given by KIRK of the Seattle Branch. KIRK's minority report said that there was a new political crisis in the post-war economic upsurge. There was a colonial European reformism, he said, as well as a new U.S. Negro struggle.

He was opposed to DOBBS' point of view and he said the majority was again wrong. (There was a great unrest in the audience at these remarks.) KIRK was critical of the Party's views and emphasis on student youth. He said that the greatest force would be found in the working proletariat to Party success. He also said the Negro movement was the key to all political action.

The convention recessed for dinner and reconvened at 8:30 for a continuation of the discussion.

The first speaker was BERTA GREEN. She was followed by JOE JOHNSON of the Twin Cities. JOHNSON reported that Twin Cities has been very active in the farm movement and now has two members in the National Farmers Association. He said there has been a great deal of concern about the liquidation of small farmers and they strongly need an alliance with the labor unions.

ARNE SWABECK was the next speaker and was also critical of the majority. He defended the Progressive Labor Group and its radical activities. He said that the group was approachable, and the SWP should have friendly collaboration with them. He admitted they had some basic faults and cited some of their statements indicating this, but still nevertheless said they should be considered for friendly collaboration.

SWABECK went on to point out that the Progressive Labor Party presently had 60 members under indictment and that the SWP should help them. He said that the SWP could maintain its

individual platform, as could the Progressive Labor Party, and still work together. He said that the two groups were presently in agreement on the question of Cuba, Vietnam, Imperialism. These programs run parallel to each other and obviously provide enough common ground for a mutual understanding and start together. He suggested that the Party move toward fusion with the Progressive Labor Party and that this possibility should be explored.

The next speaker was TOM KERRY. KERRY began a very cynical and humorous tirade against SWABECK and the Seattle Branch and he pointed out that the Progressive Labor Party had more supporters with the Seattle Branch than it had in Harlem. He said that the KIRK-KAYE Resolution would convert the SWP into a lunatic assylum and also cause the SWP to commit political suicide. He said that Seattle has grossly misquoted the Progressive Labor stand since the Progressive Labor Party does not have a program as KIRK-KAYE alleged. He then reviewed a number of quotations from Progressive Labor Party leaders, which developed a great deal of humor during the convention. He criticized KIRK-KAYE for supporting BOGGS and EPTON, leaders withing the Progressive Labor Party. He criticized KIRK specifically for saying that the Progressive Labor Party had better Negro leaders than the SWP did. He said that agreement with the Progressive Labor Party is a step backward towards Stalinism and Fosterism and he quoted a statement by ROSEN, further substantiating his

criticism of the Progressive Labor Party.

The next speaker was DICK GARZA, who called for a closer collaboration between the SWP and the YSA. He urged youthful members of the Party to stand up and be heard regarding YSA activities.

MILTON ALVIN was the next speaker. Other speakers were VINCENT R. DUNNE, CLIFTON DE BERRY, JOEL BRITTON, JOHN BRITTON.

This first session of the Party Convention lasted until 12:15 a.m.

The convention reconvened on the morning of September 4, 1965, and JEAN SIMON was Chairman.

Before the convention began, ALLAN TAPLIN of Denver circulated a postcard asking all members present to sign it, expressing greetings to ASHER HARPER of San Francisco, who is recuperating in a hospital.

The morning session was begun by the summary of the Political Resolution previously presented by FARRELL DOBBS and in this case, the minority was given the opportunity to speak first.

KIRK got up and was very critical of the SWP outlawing free discussion and it was obviously a mistake for he and his comrades to have traveled to the convention. He said "It will not happen again, at least not for several years". He said CLARA KAYE had vowed at the last convention that it would be her last and obviously she was right. He said he will not come again. He

said that TOM KERRY had as usual made a nuisance of himself again, and he was very critical of KERRY for his caustic remarks about the Seattle Branch. He said that the Seattle Branch had traveled many miles at great expense to come to the convention. He cited the case of Comrade WARE, who previously had left the Communist Party to join the SWP and was now becoming disillusioned with the SWP. He said that the SWP was no longer staging a convention for its delegates, but instead a Workers Conference, and the Seattle Branch obviously traveled 3,000 miles for nothing. He defended the Progressive Labor Group again and called the SWP leadership of DE BERRY and BOB as inept. He reviewed the general Negro situation and still expressed the belief that the Black Muslims had killed MALCOLM X. He cited the Progressive Labor Party for having good Negro leadership and pointed out that the Progressive Labor Party Negro leadership was invited to speak at the MALCOLM X memorial, however, no one from the SWP was given that privilege.

DOBBS was then called upon to defend the majority point of view and he was highly critical of SWABECK and KIRK. He said that there was no possible chance for a fusion with the Progressive Labor Group. He said that the real Negro revolution was staged at Watts in Los Angeles, not in the South, and pointed out that all ghettos presented a potential source of Negro revolutionary activities. He said the Party has consistently rejected the

KIRK-KAYE theories by a pre-convention discussion. He will, however, recommend that the points of differences be presented to the incoming National Committee for further discussion. He was very critical of the minority for their veiled threats of boycotting the National Convention, and that this was a result of years of frustration and failure in not having their points recognized by the great majority of the SWP. He said the Seattle and Milwaukee Branches were losing ground and had lost their sense of proportion. He accused both branches of not having open debate and free discussion to make sure that the majority point of view was properly presented to the membership. He accused the leadership of BOLTON and KIRK of hypocrisy. The SWP, he said, will not tolerate this continuous fussing of minority viewpoints and he was critical of the subterfuge and innuendo which was emanating from the Milwaukee and Seattle Branches. The SWP, he said, will enforce democratic centralism and all members and branches must follow the Party line.

There was now a vote on a previous motion made by ARNE SWABECK which called for friendly relations and possible fusion with the Progressive Labor Party. There were 8 for his motion and 52 against; fraternal delegates, 1 for the motion and 37 against.

There was a vote on the KIRK-KAYE Resolution. There were 6 for and 51 against and two abstentions; fraternal votes - 1 for the KIRK-KAYE Resolution, 38 against.

On the majority Political Resolution, there were 53 for and 8 against; fraternal delegates, 38 for, 1 against.

Next planned on the agenda was the Political Committee's report on the Negro Question by VERNON. He gave a very incoherent and disjointed speech, hard to follow and understand. He said that the guide work for the next two years of the SWP should basically carry out the same program as expressed in the Party's 1963 Resolution. This called for a basic orientation of Negroes in SWP cities to handle problems of all Negroes in the community as best can be done by individual members. The individual Party members should give constructive assistance whenever they can, he said, and there should not be too much of a basic change of policy since 1963. He said they have been developing better contacts and he noticed a new development of a black vanguard. He said as a result there has been an enormous amount of recruiting. He cited "The Militant" as serving as an active organ in assisting the Negro Movement and that the SWP is becoming recognized as an ally of the black vanguard. He reviewed the various organizational activities in the Negro Movement, all mostly ineffective, and said they could not penetrate the black ghetto. He said actually there were many ghetto situations in the South too. He said that the response to "The Militant" in the South has been good. The 1963 Resolution, he said, pointed out that the ghettos would be heard from and this was borne true.

Most cities doubted us, he said, but Philadelphia, Los Angeles, New York have proven the predictions of the 1963 Resolution as correct. He called Watts the mirror of the South and noted the treachery of civil rights leaders such as MARTIN LUTHER KING. VERNON said that he personally did not like to see undisciplined riots, but that the Party must be sympathetic. He said that situations like Watts were inevitable, but were not necessarily good because it did not represent a crystallized, planned action. He said that the Party cannot control movements of this type as yet, but by the same token cannot say no either. He said that during a situation as in Watts, there are only three sectors of society which can aid in a similar situation: (1) within the Negro movement; (2) civil rights activists; and (3) student groups. He was highly critical of Rev. MARTIN LUTHER KING for his failure to support Watts. He pointed out that the SWP can become the best vehicle for the new wave of black radicalism and the SWP must work harder than anyone else or else black radicals will find leadership elsewhere. He said there was a very good possibility to recruiting Negro youth for anti-war work. He said many Negro students were finding their own organizations inadequate and therefore they should be easy to recruit.

The first speaker for the minority was BOLTON, who discussed the Milwaukee Branch's minority point of view on the Negro Question. This was not his individual resolution, but the resolution of the Party members in Milwaukee. It called for building of

a strong Negro cadre in the SWP

It was announced that there would be a social activity at 116 University Place and all members were invited, but they must bring their identification card with them.

The convention adjourned for lunch. It reconvened at 2:45. The first speaker was GEORGE JONES of Los Angeles, who gave a review of the Watts riot. He said he contacted DE BERRY for instructions as soon as the riot began. He said the Party picketed Police headquarters. He described the details of the riot with considerable enthusiasm and provoked a great deal of encouragement and laughter from the delegates and the visitors for the conditions that prevailed during the riots. JONES said that there was more to come of this type of activity and he said that the next big riot would probably take place in Texas.

The next speaker was CLIFTON DE BERRY. DE BERRY said that the Party must build a strong Negro cadre in order to develop a vehicle for carrying the propaganda into the Negro ghettos and only a Negro will be able to do this, he said. It is important therefore to gain Negroes for this role. He said that the SWP Negroes have a great problem in that they are not only black, but also red. He said there has been a great deal of contradiction between Socialism and black nationalism. Many black radicals have left the SWP on account of MALCOLM X. Many left and drifted he said and the Party must do all it can to eliminate future possible problems of this sort. He said that extra effort is

needed for development of the black cadre. He said that the SWP had the best black revolutionaries to replace the void left by MALCOLM X. He said that he and VERNON were both capable of providing leadership for black nationalism regardless of what KIRK says. He cited "The Militant" for playing a key role in the black nationalism movement and that it was liked by the Harlem ghettos.

The next speaker was JONES of Seattle, who said that the Party should intervene in the Negro struggle.

Additionally, LARRY SMITH spoke from Newark.

The next speaker was SEVEREN of Seattle, who was against the majority point of view on the Negro Question.

DAVE WEISS was for the resolution. WEISS commended DE BERRY during the Watts situation, who at the time had called for civil rights for the Negroes first, and law and order second. Others he said had called for law and order first, and civil rights later. He called for Los Angeles and other cities to let ^{deacons} Negroes/police their own ghettos. He called for the establishment of city-paid black deacons to patrol and develop discipline and law and order among themselves. He said the SWP should have immediately demanded a program for assisting in this emergency and it was an opportune time to really express help for the black nationals. As an example, the SWP should have insisted on (1) city-paid deacons to patrol the Watts situation; (2) to have all

hotels and mansions left by vacationing owners turned over to the
store
Negroes, and food/cooperatives in handling the food problem.

A summary was given by BOLTON and VERNON on the question.

A motion was made by SEVEREN of Seattle to accept the PHILLIPS Resolution. To this question, ART SHARON of Los Angeles rose and said that in consultation with PHILLIPS, PHILLIPS had expressed a decision not to have his resolution presented, but since it had already been presented, it was voted upon anyway. There were 4 for the resolution and 53 against. SHARON again said that he was under the impression that PHILLIPS now supported the Political Committee's Resolution. SEVEREN rose again and said he was not aware of this change, but nevertheless the vote continued. On the fraternal votes, there was 1 for the motion, 33 against, and 3 abstentions.

The resolution presented by the Milwaukee Branch on the Negro Question: 4 for and 53 against. Fraternal votes for the motion: None for, 33 against, one abstention.

The next vote was on the Political Committee's Resolution on the Negro Question: 52 for the motion, 8 against. Fraternal delegates: 32 for the motion, 1 against.

This meeting was adjourned at approximately 7:00.

The convention reconvened September 5, 1965. ART SHARON of Los Angeles was Chairman.

The next report brought before the convention was the Youth Report by JACK BARNES. JACK BARNES said there was a qualita-

tive change in participating youth in the radical movement. Student youth activities were being reported in all press, he said. Radical literature was selling at a fast pace. This all presented a great source of recruitment he said. Students everywhere were sympathizing with the Negro movement. The SDS (Students for Democratic Society) presently is the strongest organization in democratic politics. He said in 1964 it began breaking up because of different activities, but the fastest growing activities in the youth movement was the anti-war movement, which has been growing fastly. In fact, he said, he was aware of many American youths who were actually for the guerrilla forces in Vietnam and against the United States Army. He said they were for embracing all youths and pacifists as well, and also revolutionists. He said there was a strong student movement going on.

The convention adjourned at 2:00 p.m. It reconvened at 3:15 p.m.

A resume was given by BARNES on the youth question. He said that on October 15 and 16 there would be teach-in activities, as well as thanksgiving activities at Madison, Wisconsin, for formation of anti-war committees. Committees will meet and discuss activities to see about further direction, he said. They will also meet with other radical committees for possible joint action and this presented an opportunity to recruit youth into the Party. He said that the Party must keep a close eye on the DuBois Club since the CP is watching it very closely,

as well as the anti-war groups. He said that the DuBois Clubs are not necessarily Mao-istic or CP committees, but nevertheless the CP is keeping close contact with them. He said that the youth will be able to penetrate these organizations. He was against KIRK, who wants another broad militant youth group instead of the YSA. He said that he agrees that many students are not ready for the YSA yet, but he still wants to work with them; that a statistical rundown was being prepared on the YSA and it will be published soon and made available.

The vote on the Political Committee's Report on the Youth Question was 51 for, none against, 2 abstentions; fraternal votes, 33 for, none against.

The next report was the organizational character of the SWP as delivered by TOM KERRY. TOM KERRY said that the SWP's foundation is in Leninism and Trotskyism and it is a Leninist combat party, and only such a party can lead a successful revolution in the United States. He said that the Party's Leninist character has never been challenged, and those who are for LENIN yet want to revise the Party stand and actually develop a caricature of Leninism. Once a policy is established, it must be pursued and in 1963 the National Committee drafted a resolution on the character of the SWP which should be maintained. He said that because of the ROBERTSON-WOLFORTH group, a challenge had been presented to the organizational precepts and steps would have to be taken to clear up the air which the ROBERTSON-WOLFORTH

group had developed insofar as discipline goes. Many new comrades, he said, had entered the Party and had become unaware of the necessities of democratic centralism and they must be apprised of the importance of democratic centralism. He said that the 1965 Draft Resolution was not radically different. He vehemently denied the allegations of the Milwaukee and Seattle and SWABECK groups that minority groups have been discouraged from expressing themselves at convention. He criticized KAYE-KIRK or the KAYE-KIRK group for waiting until August of 1968 before presenting their views for preparation and distribution to the delegates. He said that the National Committee did not have an opportunity to discuss their points of view and minority points because of this lateness. He said the National Office received their objections only two days before dateline and could not circulate the minority views to the branches. He strongly denied that there was a strong KERRY-DOBBS influence on leadership of the SWP. He at length criticized the KIRK-KAYE document and referred to BOLTON of Milwaukee as the gladiator poet laureate of Milwaukee. He said that KIRK-KAYE should follow LENIN teachings by not becoming so factionalized which will inevitably lead to a split. He said if the SWP leadership was so wrong in principle as they believe, they should work toward removal of the leadership. He caustically pointed out that the Seattle group had said that they did not want to become involved in a factional fight because they understood the weak-

ness of their position. He also said that there was no opposition in the Seattle Branch and that there was no opportunity for the presentation of the majority point of view. No one is allowed to join their organization unless they agree with the KIRK-KAYE point of view, he said. He also condemned the Seattle Branch for not having ordered one single piece of SWP literature from the Pioneer Publishing Company in recent months. Additionally he criticized the Seattle Branch for becoming indebted to the National Office for \$700, even though their monthly sustainer was only \$20. He pointed out that KIRK has claimed he would raise \$1,000 in a special fund-raising effort, but this was hard to accept. He also criticized the Seattle Branch for not contributing to the Young Socialist Fund Drive. He said the Seattle Branch is guilty of voting on a resolution first and then discussing it afterwards. They want votes without discussion. He accused BOLTON of Milwaukee of expelling members who did not agree with him and cited the case of a Chicago youth who has proven to be highly capable yet BOLTON found reason to get rid of him simply because, KERRY said, he would not knuckle down to BOLTON's point of view.

He was also critical of the KIRK-KAYE document for bringing up the issue of MURRAY WEISS and an alleged formation of an anti-WEISS group in the SWP leadership. KERRY said that he was very sympathetic with MURRAY WEISS because of his deep personal problems. He also commended MURRAY WEISS for following the CANNON

concept of leadership and that he deserved defense of the allegations as expressed in the KIRK-KAYE document. There was a difference with MURRAY WEISS, he said. He and JIM CANNON and FARRELL DOBBS, JOE HANSEN, STEIN, and SWABECK had a mutual understanding after which a memo was sent to all branches clearing up the air. He said MURRAY WEISS did not want a WEISS group developed and expressed this in a letter prepared by him.

KERRY said that if KIRK-KAYE felt so strong about their points, they should have fought the SWP leadership and he then accused KIRK of dereliction to his principles. He accused the KIRK-KAYE group of wanting a federation of autonomous ^{branches,} / each going a separate way. He then read a quotation from JIM CANNON which warned of the dangers of the "permanent faction which leads to cliques and then to counter-cliques and eventual splits". He strongly disagreed with the Seattle contention that the Watts situation was a defeat, but instead was a great victory for the black nationalist movement. It ended the way it did, he said, because it was not properly organized, but it was a victory for the Negro workers and workers of the country.

He also strongly disagreed with the KIRK-KAYE document, charging that Fascism was on the upswing in the United States. This is crying wolf to the workers, he said, and quoted LENIN, who said that Fascism only arises after the silencing and demoralization of the workers. Workers, he said, will stop Fascism and the only way that this can be done is for youths and everyone else

involved to adopt the precepts of the Third International, which called for a united front.

A motion was made then for the convention to uphold the expulsion of TIM WOHLFORTH and JIM ROBERTSON by the National Committee and to reject their request for an appeal and the right to be heard before the convention. SWABECK rose and spoke against the expulsion of ROBERTSON and WOHLFORTH, saying they should be brought back into the Party and their differences negotiated. He reviewed his own expulsion from the CP in 1928 and said that WOHLFORTH and ROBERTSON should be kept and re-educated. He recalled his 1922 visit to Moscow where for six months he worked as a representative of the United States CP along with JIM CANNON developing Party principles. He recalled that ENGELS warned of internal struggles in a workers party which are inevitable, but are necessary to promote free intellectual life in the Party. As for himself, he said, he has been in the minority on the Chinese Question for many years and he did not want under any circumstances his intentions to be misconstrued as a possible boycott of the Party Convention of the Party itself. He felt that he was right in his minority point of view on China and that the Party should encourage minority points of view whenever they can be made.

KIRK then spoke and he rebuked the allegations of improper timing of documents. He said that the Seattle Branch had instructed he and CLARA KAYE to submit a resolution. He said that

all new members to the branch have been apprised of the majority point of view and in fact he had invited a representative of the majority from the Vancouver Branch to travel to Seattle for presentation of the majority point of view. He also denied the allegation of a \$700 debt and said instead it was only \$300, which the Seattle Branch will pay. He said that the reason the Seattle Branch had fallen so far behind in debt was that ED SHAW had asked the branch to get on the Washington State ballot and that he and all of his associates in the Seattle Branch had to stop all other activities and devote all their time and energy and money toward this end. They subordinated all of their activities to do this he said. They all suffered financial hardships and as a result their obligations to the National Office grew. He said they were involved in four different fund drives to get on the state ballot, but he only did what the National Office requested. KIRK stated that he believed that the Party had become divorced from the proletariat.

GEORGE LAVAN was the next speaker, who said he wished he had time to discuss in more detail the KENNEDY assassination, pointing out that the minority was wrong in their attack on the Party for its weak stand on the KENNEDY assassination. He said this was a grave time for the Party and its position was in great peril. In fact, the members do not understand how serious the situation really was and that the leadership exercised great caution during these very apprehensible times. LAVAN then went

on to say that he disagreed with everyone involved, that actually the ROBERTSON-WOHLFORTH group had not actually made an appeal for retention in the Party. All they had done was sent a letter asking for the right to make an appeal and while he agreed this might be a legal play with words, nevertheless the Party should stick to the actual wording as expressed by ROBERTSON-WOHLFORTH. He did say, however, that the Constitution of the SWP calls for the right of appeal and the Constitution should be either changed or lived up to. He suggested this at a previous plenum meeting and that each member, that is ROBERTSON and WOHLFORTH, be given the privilege of preparing a ten page documentary appeal to be given to all delegates. This was rejected. LAVAN then moved that a spokesman for the minority be given a ten minute opportunity to appeal their case before the convention September 6, 1965. He agreed that the WOHLFORTH-ROBERTSON principles were wrong and he was very much against them, but he felt that the harsh treatment of their request for appeal would hurt the SWP's reputation on an international front. The organization has a constitution it must live up to, he said.

He was followed by MILTON ALVIN, WILLIAM WARDE, JIM BOLTON and FRANK POWERS as speakers.

Next speaker was JOE HANSEN, who accused WOHLFORTH and ROBERTSON of being disloyal. He said that this group actually made this appeal to the Party with the hope that it would be refused so that they could appeal it to the Fourth International. He said th

even before the SWP had a chance to consider their appeal, they had relayed this information to the Fourth International. He agreed that possibly the Constitution should be changed, but he said no matter what would be done, it would be arbitrary and would be considered arbitrary by the ROBERTSON-WOHLFORTH group. He said they will make it arbitrary no matter what is done and he therefore suggested that the appeal be handled politically and all future cases of this type be referred to the 1967 Convention. HANSEN said he was unhappy with the SWABECK charge of the SWP becoming an undemocratic party and he did not like the threats of KIRK not to return to the 1967 Convention. He said the WEISS group has differences with the SWP and that leadership became resolved by joint effort and that Seattle would do well to follow suit.

BOLTON was the next speaker, followed by STEVE ROBERTS.

Next speaker was MYRA TANNER WEISS, who made her first appearance at the convention. She rose and made a point of an anti-WEISS group and the struggle over the youth question. She said that no one knew this difference and WEISS won by default since the youth question as he advocated it was ultimately handled that way. She said that the Party must tolerate differences, but that the SWP leadership was guilty not only of fostering differences, but also dividing the Party. They were also guilty of developing division within the Party.

The next speaker was HARRY RING, who was followed by FARRELL DOBBS.

FARRELL DOBBS rejected the claim by MYRA TANNER WEISS that the central leadership of the SWP was anti-WEISS and that this clique as she called it had knifed MURRAY WEISS. He recalled that MURRAY WEISS came to New York City at a time when JIM CANNON had to go to California, and that MURRAY WEISS made a notable contribution to the SWP leadership. He commended MURRAY WEISS for being a responsible leader of the Party and that if there are any differences of opinion that MYRA knows about him, she will not explain them.

He went on to say that ROBERTSON and WOHLFORTH were disloyal and actually their appeal was in effect before the convention right now and that SWP members knew their disloyalty and had taken steps to correct them. He pointed out that the convention was the highest element in the organization and can vote on any single question and can eliminate any previous ruling or motion by a majority vote. He strongly voiced opposition to the GEORGE LAVAN motion to permit WOHLFORTH and ROBERTSON representatives to appear before the convention and use the convention platform as a device for setting forth their principles and points of view.

TOM KERRY gave the summary. He answered critics of the Milwaukee and Seattle Branch. He then accused BOLTON of

expelling a youth and BOLTON rose and said the youth was not expelled but merely transferred. Tempers rose at this stage of the conversation between BOLTON and TOM KERRY, as well as associates of the Milwaukee Branch and TOM KERRY. KERRY made another point in saying that the Milwaukee Branch expelled JOE JOHNSON. This raised a good deal of temperament from the Milwaukee Branch, who called upon JOE JOHNSON to stand up and deny this allegation. JOHNSON made an attempt to stand up, but decided against it and sat down.

KERRY pointed out that it was good to see MYRA WEISS and it was good that she had taken time out to make a five minute appearance before the convention since he had not seen her since the last January, 1965, meeting of the plenum. It was good that she had the time to come to the convention. KERRY said that MYRA does not speak for MURRAY WEISS and in effect said she didn't know what she was talking about.

He also insisted that the Milwaukee Branch begin submitting minutes, which is supposed to be done by all branches, and that is the only way the National Office can know what is going on at all times. He was violently opposed to a WOHLFORTH-ROBERTSON appeal.

KERRY was violently opposed to the ROBERTSON-WOHLFORTH appeal and urged members of the convention to vote against the GEORGE LAVAN motion. A vote was held on the LAVAN motion: 24 were for the motion, 32 against, 1 abstention; fraternal delegates: 12 for, 31 against.

The motion was placed before the convention from the outgoing Secretariat for a confirmation of the expulsion of WOHLFORTH and ROBERTSON and a rejection of their appeal. 49 were for the motion, 8 against, 2 abstentions. Fraternal votes: 40 for the motion, 3 against.

The next vote was on the resolution as reported by TOM KERRY and there were 51 for the adoption of the resolution, 8 against; fraternal votes: 1 against and 41 for.

The convention adjourned at 9:30. It reconvened on September 6, 1965, with CLIFTON DE BERRY as Chairman. The meeting was opened by an organization report by ED SHAW. ED SHAW reported that there was a need for tightening up in the organization and pointed out as an example that the SWP had lost approximately 150 members in the past two years, however, the Party had recruited an equal number. This was considered a normal and natural turnover and was not like the Progressive Labor Party where members join and quit every three or six months. Actually this was more of bringing the membership figures up to date.

He asked all branches to become more vigilant in sending their minutes to the National Office. In fact, this would be insisted upon in the future. He said it was important for better communications to develop between the branches and the National Office. He pointed out that consideration of the youth is most important in election activities. They have been very helpful in getting the SWP on ballots in many states. Election activities,

he said, also help to educate branches and are never meant to cripple a branch operation as alleged by the Seattle Branch, and in the future, he said, he will never ask the Seattle Branch to undertake a job as they did last time if it means that they will stop all their activities.

He pointed out that we have stepped up the educational activities of the YSA and summer schools have been held in nine cities with members of the SWP leadership becoming involved in the schools. The curriculums include: Permanent Revolution, Imperialism, Stalinism, Party History, Negro Question, and many other points of interest. He pointed out that many members of the YSA are actually members of the SWP too. He said it is not an accident that the YSA is an autonomous and fraternal organization that works closely with the SWP.

He said that the regular "Militant" subscriptions are not growing fast enough, but that the Pioneer Publishing Company is growing in size and work and its machinery is up to date. They have also contracted the Merit Press, an independent publishing company, to assist in their publishing also.

He said that the Party has a great problem in its need to get involved in the anti-war movement and to recruit youths who are involved in this work. It is important also to help the YSA publish the "Young Socialist". He pointed out that very soon a new subscription campaign will begin where four months of "The

Militant" and four months of the "Young Socialist" will be provided for a cost of \$1.00. This subscription campaign will be mainly to campuses he said. He said it should be easy to sell these combination subs.

He also said that the "International Socialist Review" was not expanding fast enough. While foreign sales were good, the local sales were not good enough. He also pointed out that many branches have high debts and they should make an attempt to pay these debts. The total sustaining debt to the National Office was \$2200 he said, and this was too much. It was important, he said, for a strong Leninist Party to have a central publication and it was important to maintain funds in order to publicize the Party's propaganda. He said the sustaining fund for the entire National Party in 1963 was \$750 a month from all branches, but this had now risen to \$1000 a month, but actually this was at the same level it was five years ago. The Party still needs more money. There are great opportunities in New York and Boston which must be exploited he said. He pointed out that New York lost 29 members since 1963, and recruited 21 new youths. It was originally \$100 in debt, but now it paid up its entire debt and had increased its monthly sustainer from \$200 to \$280. They sold a great deal of literature and have been hard-working in recruiting youth. He pointed out that this was his home town, but nevertheless it set a good example for all other branches to follow and the most important thing to do for all branches is to

recruit new youths.

He pointed to Los Angeles as a fine example for having recruited 14 new youths since last convention. He said that branch will make a comeback and he was sure they would be able to raise their sustaining fund. A branch is not to feel the necessity for having a full time paid organizer as well as a maintenance of headquarters. These are both costly and usually unsuccessful, he said. He pointed out that the National Office needs approximately \$4500 per month to operate on. As a result, a new fund drive is initiated immediately beginning September 15 through December 15, 1965, in the hope of raising of \$18,000. He was very gratified that this time there were over 300 visitors cards printed for visitors to the convention and that these cards had all been used up and that there had been many visitors to the convention.

He told the convention that FARRELL DOBBS will go on tour of all national branches beginning in October.

The next speaker was DAVE WEISS, who said that it is important for the branch to consider the publishing of important books which had gone out of print and he cited specifically the "State and the Revolution", "The Communist Manifesto", and this he said should be done without having Stalinist introductions, and he suggested that the Seattle and Milwaukee Branches ask for help from the National Office to help stabilize their dissenting factors so it would not turn into another Buffalo and leave

the Party.

A white male, about 45, from Milwaukee rose and tried to talk on the upcoming findings of the Nominating Commission and he was ruled out of order and he sat down in disgust.

There were a great number of speakers who wanted to speak and speaking opportunities were reduced to five minutes.

KAROLYN KERRY rose and spoke of the number of "Militants" which are going to the South. All, she said, have been requested and referred to a mailing of 275 to Mississippi alone and 50 to a university in Louisiana which has requested the "Militant" for studies in its Humanities course. Also they asked for the "International Socialist Review". She was asked by a member of the audience what university and she said well, "its a Negro university." She also said there has been 110 "Militants" requested and paid for by someone in Texas and referred to them as an S.D.S.'er. She also reminded the convention that PAUL BUTEL was to speak in Texas very soon. She also said that they have been sending "Militants" to Cuba by request. The University of Havana, she said, has ordered a complete bound set of "Militants" and "ISRs". The SWP would undertake the cost of this thing, she said, and these bound collections of "The Militant" and "ISR" would be going to Havana University immediately.

The next speaker was WILLIAM WARDE, WARDE arose to announce that he was really enthused by the 150 delegates and visitors who attended the workshop the previous night on the

defense cases. The defense cases were for the JOE JOHNSON case, ALEXANDER case, and the Bloomington youths. He said that TOBATA of South Africa will make a national tour in behalf of the ALEXANDER Defense Committee. He described TOBATA as leader of the South African fight against racism. He also said that JOE JOHNSON would go on a speaking tour of the West Coast.

The next speaker was JOE JOHNSON. JOHNSON said that he would like to speak politically and critically on the New York Branch. He said the Party should develop defense committees to answer the rebuttals and activities of the Milwaukee Branch. He said that the reason he left Milwaukee was because of the shabby treatment by the branch there. He also called for more specialization of SWP talents.

The next speaker was BEVERLY of Chicago, who said that "ISR" has been placed in six book stores and 200 "Militants" have been placed there and only 50 returned.

(TRAINOR)
The next speaker was GUSTY/of Boston. The next speaker was HARRY RING, New York. He discussed the problems of internal bulletins and suggested a system be developed on space limitation as well as for decorum of speech. He recalled the last internal bulletin prepared by Seattle which used the words such as "political gangsterism" and "undemocratic party leadership". He called for restraint in language used in internal bulletins. He said therefore he was going to move for the creation of a subcommittee to explore these two problems for all future internal bulletins.

The next speaker was SHEPARD.

Summary by ED SHAW.

A vote was held on the HARRY RING motion and it was carried by a voice vote.

A motion was made to accept the organization report by voice vote and it too was accepted.

WILLIAM WARDE rose and said that he acknowledged the presence of VINCENT R. DUNNE and his contribution to the convention and also wanted to send a telegram of communication to "JIM and ROSE in Los Angeles" advising them of the convention activities and the sending of tapes, so forth and so on.

This motion for a telegram to JIM and ROSE was passed unanimously.

YSA

JACK BARNES then rose and said that the/plenum would hold its meeting at 10:00 a.m. on September 17, 1965, at 116 University Place.

The convention was adjourned at 1:00 and was told to reconvene at 2:30 for the election of National Committee. This session of the convention was closed to all visitors and alternate delegates. Only ones who were allowed to attend were fraternal delegates and regular duly-accredited delegates.

WARE, a Negro male from Seattle was also a delegate. HOWARD MAYHEW was there as a visitor. MARVEL DOBBS was also there as a visitor.

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE REPORT

The following individuals were appointed to the Credentials Committee. They were:

SOREN TOROIAN, St. Louis

MIKE GARZA, Twin Cities

ANDREA, Berkeley-Oakland Branch

BEV WULF (or WULP), Chicago Branch

BILL MASSEY, New York Branch (?)

The Credentials Committee met on the eve of September 4, 1965, with the following statistics regarding the convention:

There were exactly 144 official delegates to the September 3-6, 1965, Convention of the SWP. Out of this total, 60 were official delegates, 39 were alternate delegates, and 45 were fraternal delegates. The average age of the official delegates was $33\frac{1}{2}$ years of age. The average age of alternate delegates was $27\frac{1}{2}$. The average age of fraternal delegates was $46\frac{1}{2}$. Broken down by sexes there were 45 male delegates and 15 official female delegates; there were 21 male alternate delegates and 18 female alternate delegates; there were 33 male fraternal delegates and 12 female fraternal delegates. The actual delegates averaged ten years per person years of service in the SWP; alternate delegates averaged $5\frac{1}{2}$ years per person years of service in the Party;

and fraternal delegates averaged 25 years per person years in the Party. The over-all total of number of years of service in the Party for all delegates was 1,954 or 14 years average years in the Party per delegate.

Regarding union affiliation, there were 26 delegates with union affiliation; 13 alternate delegates with union affiliation; and 10 fraternal delegates with union affiliation. Of those individuals with previous political experience there were 3 delegates, 4 alternates, and 3 fraternal. Of those individuals involved in mass organization movement, specifically in the anti-war movement, there were 3 delegates, 3 alternates, and no fraternal.

To the best of my knowledge, there were 15 branches represented at this convention and they included: New York, Seattle, Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Denver, Twin Cities, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Oakland-Berkeley, Newark, San Francisco, Boston.

In addition to the 144 official delegates to the convention, there were at all times approximately 150 to 250 visitors attending the convention at all times. A visitor gained entrance to the convention by being vouched for by a Party member and was given a card for future entry. They were permitted to attend all sessions except the last session on the afternoon of September 6, 1965, at which time the election of national officers was conducted.

The following list represents approximately half of the official credential file of the SWP Convention, September 3-6, 1965. These names were taken from cards which were signed by official delegates, alternate delegates, and fraternal delegates. These cards also included the individual's branch, his sex, his age, occupation, number of years in the Trotskyist Movement, previous political affiliation, present and previous union affiliation, and other mass organizations.

ROGER SHEPARD, Boston Branch, alternate delegate, 24 years of age, male, electrical apprentice, five years in Trotskyist Movement, no previous political affiliation, union affiliation: B.E.W., mass organization: SDS.

LINDA SHEPARD, Boston, alternate delegate, age 23, female, occupation housewife, no previous years experience in the Trotskyist Movement.

LENNY ALEXANDER, Boston, fraternal delegate, age 33, male, electrical technician, eleven years in Trotskyist Movement.

LARRY TRAINOR, Boston Branch, 60 years of age, male, printer, 30 years in Trotskyist Movement, belongs to the Typographical Union.

DAVID SAPPERSTEIN, Boston Branch, delegate, age 24, occupation cook, one and three-fourths years in the Trotskyist

Movement, previous political affiliation: YSA, union affiliation:
Cooks, Bakers, and Pastry Union.

AUGUSTA TRAINOR, Boston Branch, delegate, 50 years of
age, female, production worker, 29 years in Trotsky Movement,
belongs to the AF of L Rubber Workers.

JUDITH WHITE, Boston, alternate delegate, 27, female,
student, four years in Trotskyist Movement.

JOEL BRITTON, Chicago Branch, delegate, age 24, male,
seven years in Trotsky Movement.

CAROLYN JASIN, Chicago Branch, alternate delegate, 21,
female, student, one year in Trotsky Movement.

RICHARD MC BRIDE, Chicago Branch, alternate delegate,
23 years of age, chemical worker, five years in Trotskyist Move-
ment, belongs to the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union.

BEV WULF (alternate spelling WULF), delegate, age 25,
female, teacher, 3½ years in Trotsky Movement, previous experience:
Republican Party, belongs to A.F.T. Union. Chicago Branch.

DAVID WULF (alternate spelling WULF), Chicago Branch,
delegate, age 26, male, occupation: 1401 Programmer, 3 years in
Trotskyist Movement, previous political affiliation: Republican
Party, Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

PETER ALLAN, Chicago Branch, delegate, age 30, male,
engineer, 15 years in Trotsky Movement, previous political affilia-
tion: "Socialist - Zionist".

BEA HANSEN, Chicago Branch, fraternal delegate, age 39, female, occupation: officer, 26 years in Trotsky Movement, previous political affiliation: The Red Falcons.

FRANCES CHAUCEY, Chicago Branch, alternate delegate, 22, female, occupation: Key punch operator, one year in Trotsky Movement, previous political affiliation: YPSL and YSA.

SUZANNE WEISS, Chicago Branch, alternate delegate, age 24, female, occupation: waitress, 6 years in Trotsky Movement.

JEAN SIMON, Cleveland Branch, fraternal delegate, age 47, female, occupation: proofreader, 23 years in Trotsky Movement, previous political affiliation: SP, union affiliation: ITU.

DON SMITH, Cleveland Branch, alternate delegate, age 33, male, occupation: attorney, two years in Trotsky Movement, previous political affiliation: CORE.

NORMA LODICA, Cleveland Branch, alternate delegate, age 23, female, 3½ years in Trotsky Movement.

PAUL LODICA, Cleveland Branch, delegate, age 24, male, occupation: moveman, 3½ years in Trotsky Movement, union affiliation: IAM.

AUDA ROMINE, Cleveland Branch, alternate delegate, age 49, female, occupation: Secretary-Treasurer, Business Representative, Meat Cutters Union, 13 years in Trotsky Movement.

D. W. FERGUSON, Cleveland Branch, fraternal delegate, age 64, male, occupation: sculptor, 28 years in Trotsky Movement.

HERMAN KIRSCH, Cleveland Branch, fraternal delegate, age 43, male, occupation: tool grinder, 23 years in Trotsky Movement.

F. R. HOLT, Cleveland Branch, delegate, age 30, male, occupation: electrical engineer, 2 years in Trotsky Movement.

ERIC REINTHALER, Cleveland Branch, delegate, age 40, male, occupation: chemist, 2 years in Trotsky Movement, previous political affiliation: Communist Party.

ALLEN TAPLIN, Denver Branch, delegate, age 36, male, occupation: carpenter, 19 years in Trotsky Movement.

BARBARA DORITTY, Denver Branch, delegate, age 35, female, occupation: Vari-Typist, 9 years in Trotsky Movement.

LINDA PURRINGTON, Detroit Branch, alternate delegate, age 22, student, 1½ years in Trotsky Movement, previous political affiliation: SDS.

BOB HIMMEL, Detroit Branch, fraternal delegate, male, age 32, occupation: Branch Organizer, 13 years in Trotsky Movement, previous political affiliation: CP and SP.

JOHN DECKER, Detroit Branch, delegate, age 23, male, occupation: machinist, 3 years in Trotsky Movement, previous political experience: YPSL and YS.

MARILYN LEVEN, Detroit Branch, delegate, age 21, female, occupation: secretary, 4 years in Trotsky Movement.

JIM GRIFFIN, Detroit Branch, alternate delegate, age 18, male, occupation: stockkeeper, one year in Trotsky Movement, previous political affiliation: YPSL and NAACP,

JAN GARRETT, Detroit Branch, delegate, age 22, male, occupation: student, 3 years in Trotsky Movement.

DERRISCH MORRISON, Detroit Branch, delegate, male, age 19, occupation: Student, Wayne University, 1½ years in Trotsky Movement.

DOTTY BREITMAN, Detroit Branch, fraternal delegate, age 51, female, occupation: printer, 29 years in Trotsky Movement.

DANIEL ROSENSHINE, Detroit Branch, alternate delegate, age 21, presently unemployed, 3½ years in Trotsky Movement.

HARRIET TOLAN (alternate spelling TALON), Detroit Branch, alternate delegate, age 30, female, occupation: substitute teacher and vari-typist, 9 years in Trotsky Movement.

FRANK LOVELL, Detroit Branch, fraternal delegate, male, age 52, occupation: modelmaker, union affiliation: UAW, 20 years in Trotsky Movement.

GEORGE BREITMAN, Detroit Branch, fraternal delegate, age 49, male, occupation: printer, 30 years in Trotsky Movement, union affiliation: ITU.

SURAL LOVELL, Detroit Branch, fraternal delegate, age 43, female, occupation: printer, 25 years in Trotsky Movement.

MILTON ALVIN, Los Angeles Branch, delegate, age 57, male, occupation: estimator, 30 years in Trotsky Movement.

GEORGE JONES, Los Angeles Branch, age 36, male, occupation: accountant, 8 years in Trotsky Movement, previous political affiliation: NAACP and Civil Rights Committee.

OSCAR COOVER, Los Angeles Branch, delegate, age 45, male, occupation: carpenter, 27 years in Trotsky Movement, previous political affiliation: Spartacist youth leader and Vietnam Committee and CORE.

ARNE SWABECK, Los Angeles Branch, delegate, age 75, male, 39 years in Trotsky Movement, previous political affiliation: CP, SP, union affiliation: Painters Union.

BITSY MEYERS, Los Angeles Branch, alternate delegate, age 21, female, occupation: salesgirl, 3 years in Trotsky Movement.

DERREL MEYERS, Los Angeles Branch, delegate, age 22, male, occupation: Organizer, 2½ years in Trotsky Movement.

STEVE ROBERTS, Los Angeles Branch, delegate, age 20, occupation: unemployed, 30 years in Trotsky Movement. (Note: STEVE ROBERTS is actually approximately 60 years of age, 5'11", white, crewcut hair, 185 pounds, ruddy complexion.)

IRVING KERSCH, Los Angeles Branch, alternate delegate, age 22, male, occupation: student, 3 years in Trotsky Movement.

MARGORIE SWABECK, Los Angeles, delegate, age 40, female, occupation: housewife, 16 years in Trotsky Movement.

TIBY G., Los Angeles Branch, delegate, age 51, female, occupation: student, 24 years in Trotsky Movement.

ELLA JONES, delegate, age 34, female, occupation: housewife, 7 years in Trotsky Movement.

ALBERT (?) HEARS, Minneapolis Branch, alternate delegate, age 23, male; occupation: computer programmer, 3 years in Trotsky Movement, previous political affiliation: Republican Party, FPCC, and YSA.

CHARLES BOLDUC, Minneapolis Branch, alternate delegate, age 18, male, occupation: mailman at McQuay, Inc., 1½ years in Trotsky Movement.

JAMES BOLTON, Milwaukee Branch, delegate, age 45, occupation: machine shop, 25 years in Trotsky Movement, previous political affiliation: YPSL and SP.

AL STERGAR, Milwaukee Branch, delegate, age 42, male, occupation, weld set-up, 25 years in Trotsky Movement, previous political affiliation: YPSL, union affiliation: UAW.

WAYNE LEVERENZ, Milwaukee Branch, age 33, occupation: extruder operator - plastics, 13 years in Trotsky Movement.

RUBEN HALE, Milwaukee Branch, alternate delegate, age 42, male, occupation: supervisor IAM, 10 years previous affiliation, 15 years in union.

MYRTLE KASTNER, Milwaukee Branch, alternate delegate, age 33, female, architectural draftsman, 5½ years in Trotsky Movement.

FRED HALSTED, New York Branch, fraternal delegate, age 38, occupation: garment cutter, 18 years in Trotsky Movement.

HERMAN PORTER, New York Branch, delegate, age 34, male, occupation: writer, 3½ years in Trotsky Movement.

CAROLYN KERRY, New York Branch, fraternal delegate, age 54, occupation: Militant, 31 years in Trotsky Movement.

ED SHAW, New York Branch, fraternal delegate, age 42, occupation: printer, 20 years in Trotsky Movement.

JACK BARNES, New York Branch, fraternal delegate, age 25, occupation: YSA functionary, 4½ years in Trotsky Movement, previous political affiliation: FPCC.

JOE HANSEN, New York Branch, fraternal delegate, age blank, occupation: writer, (nothing else listed).

BERTA GREEN, New York Branch, fraternal delegate, age 39, female, occupation: office, 20 years in Trotsky Movement.

TOM KERRY, New York Branch, fraternal delegate, age 64, male, occupation: Party worker, 31 years in Trotsky Movement.

FARRELL DOBBS, New York Branch, fraternal delegate, age blank, occupation: Party worker, 31 years in Trotsky Movement.

MARVEL SCHOLL, New York Branch, fraternal delegate, age 58, occupation: National Director, SWP, 30 years in Trotsky Movement.

DICK GARZA, New York Branch, delegate, age 25, male, occupation: ISR, Militant, 2½ years in Trotsky Movement, former political affiliation: CP.

E. FINER, New York Branch, alternate delegate, age 39, male, occupation: machinist, 11 years in Trotsky Movement.

GEORGE SAUNDERS, New York Branch, delegate, age 29, male, occupation: copy editor, 5 years in Trotsky Movement.

RALPH LEVITT, New York Branch, alternate delegate, age 26, occupation: clerk, 4 years in Trotsky Movement, previous political affiliation: YPSL and FPCC.

GERALD PAUL, New York Branch, alternate delegate, age 27, occupation: welfare worker, 4 years in Trotsky Movement.

ROLAND SHEPPARD, New York Branch, delegate, age 24, occupation: painter, 4 years in Trotsky Movement.

ANNE CHESTER, New York Branch, fraternal delegate, age 60, occupation: free lance, 31 years in Trotsky Movement, previous political affiliation: CP, LA.

Above information has all been developed from cards which the above individuals executed upon presenting their credentials to the SWP Convention. The card was signed and executed by the individual named. It represents approximately half of the official delegation to the September 3-6, 1965, National Convention of the SWP. It should also be noted that many of these cards do not contain all the information requested. This fact was noted by the Credentials Committee and in the case of some of the individuals the Credentials Committee took the liberty of estimating the information. In the case of JOE HANSEN,

his age was estimated at approximately 55 and his association in the Trotskyist Movement was estimated at approximately 25 years. In the case of FARRELL DOBBS, his age was estimated at 65 and his association in the Trotskyist Movement was estimated at 30 years.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS

The following number of points of observation:

JOE JOHNSON and CHARLIE SCHEER of the Twin Cities Branch advised TOROIAN that they would like very much to travel to St. Louis shortly and assist he and his branch in "The Militant" subscription campaign. SCHEER got TOROIAN's phone number and address and said he would call him before he made the trip. TOROIAN advised them both to contact DICK CLARKE first.

PEARL was introduced as the Organizer of the Philadelphia Branch and she in turn said that she had a daughter living in Cuba.

Others observed at the convention included PRISCILLA RING, PHILLIPS, CARL FINEGOLD, Mrs. CHELSTROM (she said her husband could not come this time), AL HANSEN (BEA's husband), DICK GARZA, JOHN from Newark, JOE from Newark, RUTH SHAMINSKY, Newark.

I believe PHILLIPS is from Seattle. JOHN is a white male employed as a fireman. JOE is a white male about 48. PEARL was seated at the Philadelphia delegation's table.

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648-10-33175-1 GPO

File 100 153735 005 Date 9/23/65

Class. Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

1898 Serial sent to Bureau, per Bu-

1899 airtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77;

1900 titled; Bernard S. Lee v.

1901 Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.

BuFile 62-117194c

Employee

RECHARGE

Date _____

To _____ From _____

Initials of Clerk

Date

Date Charged

Employee

Location

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

TO: SAC, ST. LOUIS (100-5238)
FROM: *W* SA WALTER A. HILGENDORF
SUBJECT: SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY
IS - SWP

DATE: 9/24/65

The following report was received on ediphone belt via U. S. Mail from [redacted] It was transcribed 9/13/65 and authenticated by the informant 9/15/65. The original copy filed [redacted]

b7D

IF THIS INFORMATION IS DISSEMINATED TO OUTSIDE AGENCIES, IT SHOULD BE PARAPHRASED CAREFULLY TO FURTHER PROTECT THE INFORMANT'S IDENTITY.

On 9/15 and 9/16/65, [redacted] orally furnished the following additional information:

b7D

[redacted] (page 15), who were recognized by the convention for their work in publishing "World Outlook" probably are [redacted]

b6
b7C

Source described [redacted] (page 26) as a Negro, about 6'3", weighing approximately 190 pounds. He was lauded at the last convention for his "writings". He writes in "The Militant" under the name [redacted] Source believes [redacted] identical with [redacted] (page 24).

b6
b7C

[redacted] stated he knows nothing re [redacted] whom [redacted] stated would speak in Texas very soon.

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] was a delegate.

b6
b7C

[redacted] came in to the convention hall for the first time Sunday afternoon, 9/5/65, about 3:00 p.m., and remained for the evening sessions. They sat with the visitors. [redacted] said nothing to the convention.

- 3 - St. Louis
- 1 - 100-5238 (Instant)
- 1 - [redacted]
- 1 - 100-17210 [redacted]

Copies Continued Page 3

b6
b7C
b7D

WAH/rc
(133)

W4

100-153735-1903

Searched	Indexed	INDEXED
Serialized	FILED	FILED
SEPT 24, 1965		SEP 20 1965
FBI - ST. LOUIS		FBI - NEW YORK

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

SL 100-5238

b6
b7C

Informant stated he does not know the branch affiliation of [redacted] nor does he recall his physical description. He may be identical with [redacted] of Detroit.

He stated [redacted] sat in the visitors' section.

He believes [redacted] is identical with [redacted] He sat with the visitors.

b6
b7C

Source stated he believes [redacted] was a fraternal delegate.

Source pointed out no one was allowed to speak at the convention unless he was a delegate, regular alternate, or fraternal.

THE NEW YORK OFFICE

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK

Will identify [redacted] and advise the appropriate office of his attendance at the convention as a delegate.

b6
b7C

SL 100-5238

5 -- BOSTON (RM)

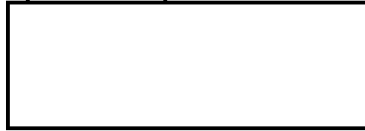
1 - 100-442 (Instant)

1 - 100-

1 - 100-7697

1 - 100-19245

1 - 100-



13 -- CHICAGO (RM)

1 - 65-645 (Instant)

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

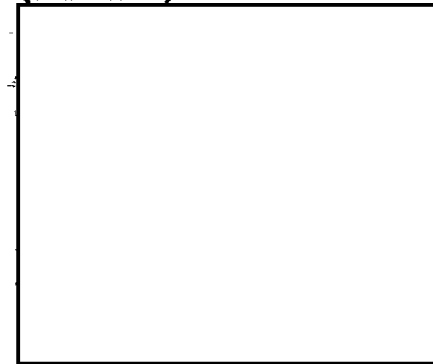
1 - 100-18038

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-



b6
b7C

10 -- CLEVELAND (RM)

1 - 100-1012 (Instant)

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

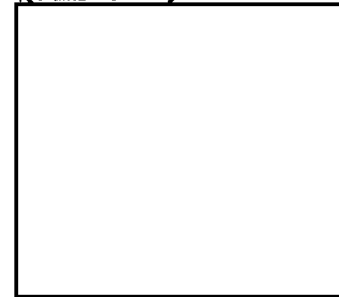
1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-



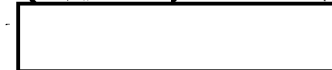
b6
b7C

3 -- DENVER (RM)

1 - 100-2650 (Instant)

1 - 100-

1 - 100-



15 -- DETROIT (RM)

1 - 100-1334 (Instant)

1 - 100-30450

1 - 100-23622

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-



b6
b7C

SL 100-5238

DETROIT (Continued)

1 - 100-
1 - 100-22546
1 - 100-
1 - 100-20831
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-

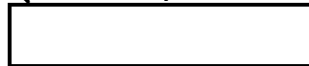


b6
b7C

17 - LOS ANGELES (RM)

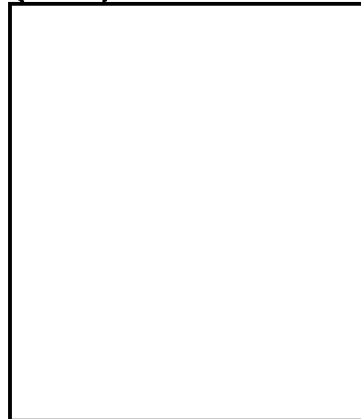
1 - 100-17375 (Instant)

1 - 100-
1 - 100-23847



1 - 100- (CIRM)

1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-49365
1 - 100-
1 - 100-48285



b6
b7C

7 - MILWAUKEE (RM)

1 - 100-7313 (Instant)

1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-



b6
b7C

10 - MINNEAPOLIS (RM)

1 - 100-1246 (Instant)

1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-



SL 100-5238

MINNEAPOLIS (Continued)

- 1 - 100-932
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-5935



b6
b7C

33 - NEW YORK (RM)

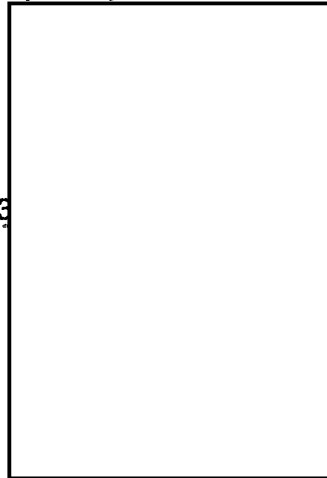
- 1 - 100-4013 (Instant)
- 1 - 100-50738



1 - 100-

(CIRM)

- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-93932
- 1 - 100-7388
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-84574
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-118453
- 1 - 100-69369
- 1 - 100-74551
- 1 - 100-59096

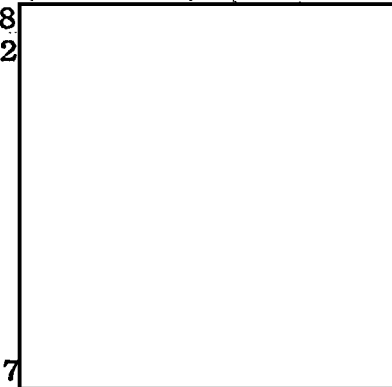


b6
b7C

- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-

(PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY)

- 1 - 100-118388
- 1 - 100-135302
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-80172
- 1 - 100-60264
- 1 - 100-79299
- 1 - 100-88074
- 1 - 100-127167



1 - 100-

(YSA)

SL 100-5238

MINNEAPOLIS (Continued)

- 1 - 100-932
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-
- 1 - 100-5935



b6
b7C

33 - NEW YORK (RM)

1 - 100-4013 (Instant)

1 - 100-50738



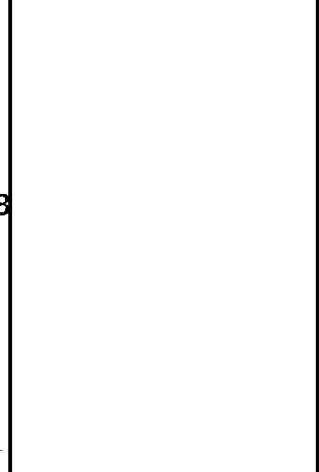
1 - 100-



1 - 100-

(CIRM) 100-1515480

1 - 100-



1 - 100-93932

1 - 100-7388

1 - 100-

1 - 100-84574

1 - 100-

1 - 100-118453

1 - 100-69369

1 - 100-74551

1 - 100-59096

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

(PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY)

1 - 100-118388

1 - 100-135302

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-

1 - 100-80172

1 - 100-60264

1 - 100-79299

1 - 100-88074

1 - 100-127167

1 - 100-

(YSA)

b6
b7C

SL 100-5238

4 - NEWARK (RM)
1 - 100-1191 (Instant)
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-32427

b6
b7C

2 - PHILADELPHIA (RM)
1 - 100-2036 (Instant)
1 - 100-

b6
b7C

4 - SAN FRANCISCO (RM)
1 - 61-380 (Instant)
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100-26202

b6
b7C

7 - SEATTLE (RM)
1 - 100-3864 (Instant)
1 - 100-18426
1 - 100-
1 - 100-
1 - 100- (PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY)
1 - 100-
1 - 100-

b6
b7C

FBI

Date: 9/27/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEWARK

CONFERENCE

SUBJECT: SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN EDUCATIONAL FUND
IS-C
(OO: NEW ORLEANS)
Bufile 100-10355
NKfile 100-7460

CARL JAMES BRADEN
SM-C
(OO: LOUISVILLE)
Bufile 100-388425
NKfile 100-41596

RE: Baltimore airtel to Bureau, 9/15/65 entitled
"CIRM (cc to all receiving offices except New Orleans)
which advised that CARL BRADEN and [redacted]
were on a tour of northeastern area.

b6
b7C

- 6-Bureau (RM)
 - (1-100-422089) (CINAL)
 - (1-100-442529) (CIRM)
- 4-Knoxville (RM)
 - (1-100-) [redacted]
 - (1-100-) (CIRM)
- 4-Louisville (RM)
 - (1-100-) (CIRM)
- 4-New Orleans (RM)
 - (1-100-) (CIRM)
- ④ New York (RM)
 - (1-100-) (CIRM)
 - (1-100-) (WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH)
- 7-Newark
 - (1-100-48052) (CIRM) b7D
 - (1-) [redacted]
 - (1-100-4284LL) (CINAL)
 - (1-100-47772) (NUTLEY-BELLEVILLE DISCUSSION GROUP)
 - (1-100-47870) [redacted]

b6
b7C

100-153735-1906

SEARCHED	<i>ma</i>	INDEXED	_____
SERIALIZED	_____	FILED	_____
SEP 28 1965			
NEW YORK			

Seaton

b6
b7C

RHH:lmd
(29)

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

NK 100-7460
NK 100-41596

On 9/27/65, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, orally advised SAS RUSSELL H. HORNER and [redacted] that [redacted] have invited persons to their residence, [redacted] Arlington, N.J., at 8:00 pm, on 10/6/65, to meet [redacted] a field secretary for SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND (SCEF) and [redacted] of the APPALACHIAN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ACTIONS COMMITTEE (AEPAC), who will describe the pilot southern mountain project which these two groups are jointly sponsoring. They will be introduced by Reverend WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH. The meeting will be for the interests of this work.

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted] are active in a local discussion group known as Belleville-Nutley Discussion Group. [redacted] believes this invitation has been issued to members of this group and possibly to other persons.

b6
b7C
b7D

Newark will cover appearance of [redacted] and submit LHM.

b6
b7C

NY is requested to furnish Newark with characterization of WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH by airtel.

Louisville is requested to furnish Newark characterization of [redacted] by airtel.

New Orleans is requested to furnish Newark characterization of SCEF by airtel.

b6
b7C

Knoxville is requested to furnish characterizations of [redacted] and AEPAC by airtel.

All characterizations needed by Newark by 10/6/65.

F B I

Date: 9/28/65

Transmit the following in Code
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

CIRM IS - C

NEW YORK THREE EIGHT ONE ZERO DASH SF^{*} ADVISED
 ON AFTERNOON OF SEPTEMBER TWO EIGHT ONE NINE SIX FIVE
 STANLEY LEVISON APOSTROPHE SIWIFE IN CONVERSATION WITH
 CLARENCE JONES DURING WHICH TIME SHE ADVISED THAT LEVISON IS
 IN WDC. SHE SAID HE HAD TO GO THERE TO ATTEND A CONFERENCE
 TOMORROW PAREN SEPTEMBER TWO NINE ONE NINE SIX FIVE END
 PAREN WITH [] PAREN [] END PAREN ON THE
 INTER HYPHEN RACIAL BUSINESS MEN APOSTROPHE S COMMITTEE.
 SHE ADVISED STANLEY IS AT THE WILLARD HOTEL IN WASHINGTON
 AND WILL RETURN TOMORROW NIGHT.

JONES SAID HE DESIRED TO TALK TO HIM BEFORE TOMORROW,
 THEREFORE, WILL CONTACT HIM THERE. LHM FOLLOWS.

1 - Supervisor (42)

JMK;pae
(2)

JMK

[Signature]

100-153735-1909

Approved: [Signature]
Special Agent in Charge

Sent 10:16 PM Per [Signature]

b6
b7C

DIRECTOR, FBI

9/23/65

SAC, CHICAGO

COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN
RACIAL MATTERS
IS - C

Reyairtel to SAC, New York, 9/22/65, captioned
"CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, IS-C; ISA OF 1950."

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE UTILIZED IN CONNECTION WITH ANY
HANDLING OR REPORTING OF THE INFORMATION SET FORTH HEREIN
IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE IDENTITY OF THIS HIGHLY PLACED
SOURCE. SINCE THE INFORMATION BY ITS VERY NATURE TENDS
TO IDENTIFY THIS SOURCE, IT SHOULD BE COMPLETELY PARAPHRASED
IF FOUND NECESSARY TO BE SET FORTH IN ANY REPORT FOR
DISSEMINATION.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two copies
of an informant's statement dated September 25, 1965, con-
taining information orally furnished on September 25, 1965,
by CG 5024-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the
past, to SA RICHARD W. HANSEN. This information was reduced
to writing on September 23, 1965, and the original report
is maintained in Chicago file A)134-46-9300.

2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
5 - New York (RM)
 (1 - 100-) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
 (1 - 100-300) (HENRY WINSTON)
 (1 - 100-) (GILL) 100-151548*
 (1 - 100-30641) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)
 (1 - 100-128314) (CP, NEW YORK STATE - ORGANIZATION)
4 - Chicago
 (1 - A)134-46-9300
 (1 - 61-807) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
 (1 - 109-18953) (CP, ILLINOIS DISTRICT - ORGANIZATION)

RWH/vmm
(11)

100-153735-1910

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
SEP 30 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Leaton
jr

September 25, 1965

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, leading functionary, Communist Party (CP) of Illinois, advised late September 24, 1965, that because of some change in plan he would not depart New York until either late that PM or early AM, September 25, 1965. He noted also that the meeting of the New York State functionaries which he was to address would now be held Saturday evening, September 25, 1965.

At the same time LIGHTFOOT stated that when he gets to New York he would stay at the residence of HENRY WINSTON. WINSTON wants LIGHTFOOT to remain at his residence until the forthcoming National Board meeting and during this time the two of them would work together on the draft resolution dealing with the Negro question. According to LIGHTFOOT he could not stay in New York as long as WINSTON desired and that a week would probably be the maximum since he has to get back to Chicago to place his boy in school.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

9/28/65

SAC, NEW ORLEANS (100-17122)

CIRM

OO: NY

Re: Let to New York dated 8/6/65 concerning plans of the CP to move the CP into the South.

[redacted] who was contacted 9/3/65 by SA [redacted] and [redacted] who was contacted 9/20/65 by SA [redacted] and who are acquainted with CP activities in the New Orleans area have advised they have absolutely no information concerning this matter. (Identities of both informants should be protected - have furnished reliable information in the past)

b6
b7C
b7D

- ② - Bureau (RAM)
- 1 - Atlanta (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Baltimore (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Birmingham (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Jacksonville (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Miami (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Tampa (Info) (RM)
- 2 - New Orleans (1 - 100-17122)
(1 - 100-4 CP)

JWG:mod
(10)

RECEIVED WITH BUREAU
DATE 10/11/65

100-153735-1911

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 1 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

F B I

Date 9/29/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, NEWARK

SUBJECT: SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND
 IS - C
 (OO: New Orleans)
 Bufile 100-10355
 NK File 100-7460

CARL JAMES BRADEN
 SM - C
 (OO: Louisville)
 Bufile 100-388425
 NK File 100-41596

Re Newark airtel to the Bureau dated 9/27/65, copies to receiving offices.

- 6 - Bureau (RM)
 - (1 - 100-422089) (CINAL)
 - (1 - 100-442529) (CIRM)
- 4 - Knoxville (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) [redacted]
 - (1 - 100-) (CIRM)
- 4 - Louisville (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (CIRM)
- 4 - New Orleans (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (CIRM)
- 4 - New York (RM)
 - (1 - 100-) (CIRM)
 - (1 - 100-) (WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH)
- 7 - Newark
 - (1 - 100-48052) (CIRM)
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - (1 - 100-4234LL) (CINAL)
 - (1 - 100-47772) (NUTLEY-BELLEVILLE DISCUSSION GROUP)
 - (1 - 100-47870) [redacted]

b6
b7C

b6
b7C
b7D

100-151548*

Handled
JCS

100-153735-1912

EWC/eag
(29)

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED

SEP 30 1965
 FBI - NEW YORK

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

NK 100-7460
NK 100-41596

Referenced airtel should have carried title as in instant airtel, but top title written as SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN EDUCATIONAL FUND. Please correct title on referenced airtel.

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603)
FROM : SA JOHN F. LANGTRY (42)
SUBJECT: CP, USA NYD
IS-C

DATE: 9/28/65

Date received 9/7/65	Received from (name or symbol number) [Redacted] b7D	Received by SA JOHN F. LANGTRY
--------------------------------	---	--

Method of delivery (check appropriate blocks)

in person by telephone by mail orally recording device written by Informant

If orally furnished and reduced to writing by Agent: Dictated <u>9/9/65</u> to [Redacted] Transcribed <u>9/13/65</u> b6 b7C Authenticated by Informant <u>9/15/65</u>	Date of Report 9/7/65
	Date(s) of activity 8/30/65

Brief description of activity or material

A CPUSA - NY District Board meeting held in NYC

File where original is located if not attached
[Redacted] b7D

Remarks:

- 1- [Redacted] (INV) (42)
- 1-NY 100-128814 (CPUSA, NYD ORG.) (42)
- 1-NY 100-4931 (CPUSA) (42)
- 1-NY 100-128823 (CPUSA, NYD DOM. ADM) (42)
- 1-NY 97-169 (THE WORKER) (42)
- 1-NY 100-153735 (CIRM) (42)
- 1-NY 100-145082 (CCCL) (42)
- 1-NY 100-15946 [Redacted] (47)
- 1-NY 100-228 [Redacted] (41)
- 1-NY 100-10113 [Redacted] (46)
- 1-NY 100-13527 [Redacted] (47)
- 1-NY 100-117158 [Redacted] (47)
- 1-NY 100-67670 [Redacted] (42)
- 1-NY 100-117708 [Redacted] (42)
- 1-NY 100-138492 [Redacted] (47)
- 1-NY 100-143915 [Redacted] (47)
- 1-NY 100-93665 [Redacted] (46)
- 1-NY 100-27452 [Redacted] (42)
- 1-NY 100-16785 [Redacted] (46)
- 1-NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (42)
- 1-NY 100-26603 (42)

JFL:eac
(21)

Block Stamp

100-153735-1915

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
SEP 28 1965	
FBI-NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials]

9/7/65

On 8/30/65, a CPUSA-New York District Board meeting was held in the west room of the Henry Hudson Hotel, New York City.. Those New York District Board members present included -

Jim Tormey
June Gordon
Lennie Levinson
Dave Sales
Danny Rubel
Ida. Posner
Mike Stein
Earl Scott
Agnes Willis
Rasheed Storey

Mike Stein stated that the agenda would be as follows:

1. A discussion concerning the National CP Convention.
2. A report on "The Worker" by Earl Scott.
3. A report on the defense activities by Mimi Friedlander.
4. Good and Welfare.

In regard to Good and Welfare, Stein announced that the next New York District Board meeting would be held 9/13/65, while the District Committee meeting would be held on 9/18/65. He also announced at this time that the next District Committee meeting to be held in October would be held on the 16th.

Bob Thompson spoke on the National Convention and stated that the Party would hold it either the end of February or the 1st of March of next year. The place where the Convention is to be held has not been settled on and,

in fact, there has to be a lot of work conducted between now and then. Thompson stated that within the next three months pre-convention meetings of both State and County are to be held; in fact, these discussions should start no later than 11/1/65. Thompson mentioned that the drafts on the following programs have to be drawn up: Draft on Political Activities, Negro Work, Trade Unionism, Education and a Party Program. He said that in regard to the work done on these programs, the District would consider who the Delegates would be to the District Convention.

Mimi Friedlander then arrived at the meeting and gave a brief summary of the Defense Program of the Party leaders who are under indictment by the SACB. She mentioned that there would be meetings held on both September 17 and 18 for Party and non-Party people to participate in regard to this situation. She mentioned that some very important people would attend these meetings as the principal speakers.

Earl Scott then discussed the plight of "The Worker." He mentioned that a press drive is to be started in September and run for approximately three months. So far to date new subjects have been falling behind what was anticipated and that the Party comrades have to get out and push to maintain their quotas in this area. Scott mentioned that on September 18, the annual bazaar for "The Worker" would be held at the Hotel Woodstock and that on the 19th an Eastern Press Conference would be held at the same place.

Scott mentioned that within the next three months, the paper has to be pushed not only in regard to new subjects but also on the newsstands. It was stated that either Jim Jackson or Gus Hall should attend a District Board meeting to discuss the paper with the Board members. However, the consensus of those present was that they would be in favor of having all in attendance rather than Jackson, since they did not like any of Jackson's previous reports that he has made recently to any of the meetings they have attended.

File--Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

48-16-83475-1 GPO

File 100 153 735 Date 5/24/77
Class. Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No.	Description of Serial	Date Charged
<u>1913</u>	<u>Serial sent to Bureau, per</u>	
<u>1914</u>	<u>Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,</u>	
	<u>titled; Bernard S. Lee v.</u>	
	<u>Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.</u>	
	<u>BuFile 62-117194d</u>	

Section #23

Employee

RECHARGE

Date _____

To _____ From _____

Initials of Clerk { _____

Date { _____

_____ Date Charged

_____ Employee

_____ Location

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
MEMORANDUM

TO : SAC, NEW YORK (100-26603)
FROM : SA JOHN F. LANGTRY (42)
SUBJECT: CPUSA, NEW YORK DISTRICT
IS-C

DATE: 9/28/65

Identity of source [redacted] who has furnished
reliable info in the past
Description of info A CPUSA, NYD Board meeting
held in NYC
Date received 8/24/65
Received by SA JOHN F. LANGTRY (oral)
Original location [redacted]

b7D

Information received from informant was dictated
by SA JOHN F. LANGTRY on 8/25/65 to [redacted]
transcribed 8/31/65, and authenticated by informant
on 9/15/65.

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A copy of informant's oral report follows:

b7D

1- [redacted] (INV) (42)
1-NY 100-128814 (CPUSA NYD ORG) (42)
1-NY 100-128823 (CPUSA NYD DOM. ADM) (42)
1-NY 100-26603-C42 (NY COUNTY CP) (46)
1-NY 100-139834 (COMINFIL NALC) (41)
1-NY 100-153735 (CIRM) (42)
1-NY 100-67670 [redacted] (42)
1-NY 100-10113 [redacted] (46)
1-NY 100-15946 [redacted] (47)
1-NY 100-117708 [redacted] (42)
1-NY 100-117158 [redacted] (47)
1-NY 100-27452 [redacted] (42)
1-NY 100-13527 [redacted] (47)
1-NY 100-228 [redacted] (41)
1-NY 100-56 [redacted] (42)
1-NY 100-86236 [redacted] (46)
1-NY 100-80923 [redacted] (46)
1-NY 100-136585 (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (42)
1-NY 100-26603 (42)

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JFL:eac
(19)

JFL

- 100-153735-1916
Searched _____ Indexed _____
Serialized _____ Filed _____
SEPT. 28, 1965
FBI - NEW YORK

John F. Langtry
JFL

NY 100-26603

8/24/65

On August 23, 1965, a CPUSA New York District Board meeting was held at the Hotel Martinique, Parlor A, New York City. Those CPUSA New York District Board members present were:

AGNES WILLIS
IDA POSNER
LENNY LEVINSON
JIM TORMEY
MIKE STEIN
DANNY RUBEL
BOB THOMPSON
DAVE SALES
JUNE GORDON
MIKE DAVIDOW

DANNY RUBEL acted as Chairman for this meeting and announced the agenda as follows:

- 1) A report by BOB THOMPSON on the Los Angeles riots.
- 2) A report on New York County CP by LENNY LEVINSON.
- 3) Good and Welfare.

BOB THOMPSON then discussed the recent riots in Los Angeles, which was generally a review of the news taken from the local newspapers. He attempted to tie in the riots in Los Angeles with the Vietnam situation and also what had happened last year in Harlem. He stated that the riots in Los Angeles were more severe and that the police and the National Guard used machine guns and rifles, whereas in Harlem the police, although using their revolvers, had shot in the air and not at people.

He stated that the Government should be concerned with the poverty program at home instead of sending troops to Vietnam. Very little, according to THOMPSON, is

NY 100-26603

being done by the Government in the anti-poverty program and therefore the Party should sharpen up this issue. According to THOMPSON, in Los Angeles, the Negro organizations are divided and do not have any strong leadership. However, MARTIN LUTHER KING, although an outsider, has a good position in this area.

AGNES WILLIS, in speaking, stated that the Negro people are divided. Quite a few feel that non-violence is outdated and that the only way they can gain anything is to spill blood. She disagreed with THOMPSON and stated that quite a few of the Negro people in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant have criticized MARTIN LUTHER KING and are not supporting him strongly.

In regard to the local elections, she stated that the people in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant do not like SCREVANE; however, they do not know anything about FITZ RYAN and therefore they are trying to find out what Congressman LINDSAY's programs have to offer and they may support him if they figure his programs will help them.

WILLIS mentioned that on August 25, 1965, the NALC is to have a regular meeting, at which time CLEVELAND ROBINSON will give a report on a recent White House conference he had attended for equal employment opportunities. She stated that the NALC is setting up a planning program for 1965 and 1966 around more jobs.

MIKE DAVIDOW tended to agree with AGNES WILLIS, as he stated that he had recently visited Harlem, at which time RYAN had been speaking. It was DAVIDOW's opinion that although on the surface it was peaceful, the underlying currents in the area made the situation tense, as the Negroes did not like to have white men in their neighborhood.

IDA POSNER stated that in regard to the anti-poverty program "Head Start" they are spending too much money on salaries and other things rather than spending on the people who need the money.

NY 100-26603

DANNY RUBEL commented that there is no Negro leadership in the CP that can go into the Bedford-Stuyvesant and Harlem areas and discuss the issues with the people. BOB THOMPSON spoke up and stated that the Party will have to use what they have at the present time to get their points across to the masses.

LENNY LEVINSON then made his report on the New York County CP and stated that there are 20-plus clubs in Manhattan, two of which in Washington Heights have mostly older people in them. The Lower East Side clubs are made up of younger people and, in his opinion, have "a good composition."

The New York County CP is doing very little in regard to the New York City campaign and, as he stated, the "Puerto Rican situation is nothing, in fact, it is dead."

LEVINSON admitted that WILL SHEVRINGTON has been recruiting people into the Party in the Harlem area, although he did not stipulate the number. In regard to the Harlem Branch of the Party, he stated that they are planning a BEN DAVIS tribute and are trying to get it started on the eve of the city elections.

In his discussion on the New York County CP, LEVINSON mentioned that 20-odd clubs in the New York County CP are divided into three sections.

Following LEVINSON's report, MIKE DAVIDOW brought up the question that the Party ought to have open headquarters in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and other places throughout the city. This way, he stated, the Party would be able to get its ideas to the people and let them know what exactly the Party's line is. He stated that "we" are blamed for a lot of things that we haven't said or done, therefore, we might just as well open up Party headquarters throughout the city and tell the people what we have to offer.

NY 100-26603

THOMPSON, TORMEY and a few others did not go for this suggestion at this time.

It was announced that the next State Committee meeting would be held September 11, 1965, while the next Board meeting would be held August 30, 1965, and the New York District CP Trade Union Commission meeting would be held September 26, 1965.



~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. Bu 100-438794

New York, New York
September 30, 1965

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-15-2012

Re: Communist Infiltration of
the Southern Christian
Leadership Conference
Internal Security - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on September 29, 1965, that on that date, Martin Luther King was in contact with Clarence Jones. According to the source, Jones advised King of a meeting he, Jones, had with Harry (Wachtel) at which they went over the Gandhi Society Board, the Executive Committee, the whole question of allocation of money for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Gandhi Society. Jones continued that all problems were discussed candidly and frankly, that they both agreed on all names that should be on the Executive Committee as well as those on the Board.

Jones said he discussed the problem of the Gandhi Society not being turned into a "Frankenstein" as far as the SCLC is concerned. He said he told Harry that they must be very careful that, when high contributors give to the Society and intend the money to go to the SCLC, they insure the SCLC benefits. He added that otherwise they will find money being siphoned off to a tax-exempt organization that would otherwise go to the SCLC.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification~~

Searched
Serialized
Indexed

100-153735-1917

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Re: Communist Infiltration of
the Southern Christian
Leadership Conference
Internal Security - C

Jones further commented that Harry was in very good form, that they discussed his relationship with King and with Jones as well as the advisory committee and some of the problems which Harry felt existed. He said Harry is ready to go along at every level.

King related that he had spoken with Harry a day or two before and Jones informed King that Harry had summarized the conference held with King concerning King speaking in Philadelphia (on October 15, 1965 on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom).

King mentioned that he had heard that Harry Belafonte "had gone in the hole" for about \$10,000 and Jones commented that Belafonte had told him the same thing, that it was on the occasion of the Selma benefit. He said Belafonte would like to have some reimbursement made to Belafonte Enterprises. Jones indicated that the expense occurred from the misrouting of equipment which Belafonte shipped down.

(It is noted that Harry Belafonte provided entertainment on the occasion of the march led by King from Montgomery to Selma, Alabama, in the Spring of 1965).

According to the source, it was agreed that King would write Belafonte a thank - you letter. Jones mentioned that perhaps a check for \$1,000.00 could be sent to Belafonte, that Belafonte mentioned a reimbursement of \$2,500.00, but did not press the issue. King felt they could pull out the expense money for Belafonte if they had to.

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Re: Communist Infiltration of
the Southern Christian
Leadership Conference
Internal Security - C

King advised that the SCLC is in a period where things have gone down a great deal as far as fund raising is concerned. Jones brought up the September fund-raising letter and felt there will be a good response to it.

Jones inquired as to how the Philadelphia appearance had been resolved in so far as King's position on Vietnam is concerned. King related that he had decided to appear at the last minute, make an excuse for leaving and leave immediately after the speech. King said there would be no press conferences.

Jones mentioned that [redacted] of the SCLC made a statement from the pulpit of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell's church on Sunday, (September 26, 1965) about the peace settlement with Powell, that King is his number one leader and Powell's number one leader, but that in New York Powell is number one. King stated that he did not know about this, but knew Powell was ready to give in because a lot of members had gotten on Adam and circulated a petition. King added that Powell is smart enough to nip something like that in the bud.

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[redacted]

On October 28, 1958, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that according to [redacted] at Communist Party Headquarters, before [redacted] came into prominence, he had been a member of the Young Communist League (YCL).

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The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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Re: Communist Infiltration of
the Southern Christian
Leadership Conference
Internal Security - C

Clarence Jones is the General Counsel
to the Gandhi Society for Human Rights,
15 East 40th Street, New York, New York.

A confidential source, who has furnished
reliable information in the past, advised on
February 26, 1957, that he identified a photo-
graph of Clarence Jones as a person whom he
knew during late 1953 or early 1954 to be a
member of and in a position of leadership in
the Labor Youth League.

The Labor Youth League has been designated
pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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~~SECRET~~

Re: Communist Infiltration of
the Southern Christian
Leadership Conference
Internal Security - C

Harry Wachtel is the Executive Vice
President of the Gandhi Society for Human
Rights, New York, New York.

A confidential source, who has furnished
reliable information in the past, furnished
information in December, 1949, that Harry
H. Wachtel, 41 Broad Street, New York, New
York, was on a list of individuals carried
as active members of the National Lawyers
Guild.

A characterization of the National Lawyers
Guild is attached hereto.

On March 5, 1944, another confidential source,
who has furnished reliable information in the
past, furnished information which revealed
that the name Harry Wachtel was on a list of
names, significance not known, which was
maintained at the Headquarters of the Kings
County Communist Party (CP) at 26 Court
Street, Brooklyn, New York.

Regarding
it is noted that the same confidential source
furnished information on March 5, 1944, which
revealed that her name and address were on a
list of names of newly elected officers of the
Bath Beach Club of the Kings County CP.

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With respect to the Gandhi Society for Human
Rights, it is to be noted that this organization is an
adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership
Conference (SCLC), of which Martin Luther
King, Jr., is the president, and serves to
raise funds for the SCLC.

-5-
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~~SECRET~~

Re: Communist Infiltration of
the Southern Christian
Leadership Conference
Internal Security - C

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APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Lawyers Guild:

"National Lawyers Guild

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)
- "3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc.117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

~~SECRET~~ -6-

F B I

Date: 9/30/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-438794)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-149194)
SUBJECT: COMINFIL SCLC
IS-C

There are enclosed for the Bureau ten copies of a letterhead memorandum containing information furnished by NY 5182-S* on 9/29/65. This information was obtained from a telephone conversation between MARTIN LUTHER KING who was in Atlanta and CLARENCE JONES in New York City.

The sources used in characterizations of individuals mentioned in this letterhead memorandum are as follows:

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Individual

Source

CLARENCE JONES



- 4-Bureau (100-438794) (Encl. 10) (RM)
- (1-100-106670) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
- 2-Atlanta (100-5817) (COMINFIL SCLC)
- (1-100-5586) (MARTIN LUTHER KING)
- 1-NY (100-73250) (CLARENCE JONES) (42)
- 1-NY (100-148289) (HARRY WACHTEL) (42)
- 1-NY (100-111604) _____
- 1-NY (100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING) (42)
- 1-NY (100-153735) (CIRM) (42)
- 1-NY (100-149194) (42)

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JFO:rmv
(13)

100-153735-1918

SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____
SEP 30 1965
FBI - NEW YORK

[Handwritten signatures and initials over stamp]

NY 100-149194

Individual

HARRY WACHTEL

[REDACTED]

Source

Anonymous source of
WFO set forth in report
of SA [REDACTED] 2/19/50,
at WFO, re, "NLG; IS-C"

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NY 1190-S*

NY 694-S*

This letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Secret~~"
because it contains information from NY 5182-S*, a highly
sensitive source, furnishing information about racial matters
in the U.S. and Communist influence therein.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
September 30 1965

~~SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-16-2012

Re: Communist Influence in
Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

On September 28, 1965, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information which revealed that Martin Luther King, Jr. (President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)) conferred with Stanley Levison, [redacted] of the SCLC), Bayard Rustin, [redacted] and Harry Wachtel on that date. King introduced [redacted] as his new executive assistant. Wachtel and Levison said they did not know him.

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According to the source, King said the main thing he wanted to discuss was the Viet Nam situation and the whole question of letters (the letters King had planned to write to various world leaders urging an end to the Viet Nam war). King indicated that if he did not write the letters, he would need a reason for not doing so. He said he had several reasons for not writing the letters; he felt that they should be made known to a press release rather than through a press conference. He said he could say that after consulting with his attorneys about the Logan Act, it was felt that he should not write the letters because he would not want to violate the Logan Act, an act which he knew absolutely nothing about at the outset. He said that the other reason was that the letters would not serve any useful purpose.

King said he was trying to avoid criticism that he was being forced to back up. He said that some of the criticism would be that Goldberg (United Nations Ambassador Arthur Goldberg)

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-153735-1919

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Group I

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

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or the President had gotten him to abandon the idea of writing the letters. Levison advised King that he could also state that in his judgment he felt the time was not right and that King should wait and send the letters later if the occasion should arise in the future.

Levison felt that King would not be backing up at all, but would be waiting to determine if the right time should arrive.

Rustin said he did not like the Logan Act, which he described as stupid and said it should be broken by someone.

Wachtel opined that for King to say he did not know about the law would cause people to snicker at him. He felt that what King said originally expressed his views fully and that he has carried out his original purpose.

Rustin said that if the question of the letters were brought up at a future press conference, it should be pushed aside. He said to have a press conference or release on Viet Nam would be a mistake because it does not relieve the pressure they want to release; "We want him to be a civil rights leader".

At that point, King mentioned that he is scheduled to make a speech in Philadelphia on October 15, 1965, in celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Women's International League of Peace and Freedom. He said he did not see how he could avoid talking about peace and Viet Nam and Pakistan. He said newsmen from Philadelphia had called him pressuring him for statements. Rustin told King that his real problem in that regard was [redacted] presence on the platform with King. He said King should not be in attendance and stated that he, Rustin, was to have been on the platform but was indisposed and so should King. It was agreed by those participating in the conference that [redacted] was not the kind of person to be seen with. King indicated that he did not want to be held in a bad light by [redacted] because [redacted] was a friend of his.

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Harry Wachtel suggested that King might get someone to read the speech, prompting King to remark that he might get Coretta (King) to read it.

The conference ended on a note from Levison that King should remain basically a civil rights leader and not a peace leader.

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Communist Influence in Racial Matters

Stanley Levison

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in April, 1964 that Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA), in July, 1963. In late 1963, and early 1964, he criticized the Communist Party (CP) for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. Levison was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the CP in his position on civil rights. Levison's differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism.

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Communist Influence In Racial Matters

In "The Saturday Evening Post", issue of July 11-18, 1964, page 76, Bayard Rustin is the subject of a feature article captioned: "The Lone Wolf of Civil Rights". In it, Rustin is said to have come to New York in 1938, as an organizer for the Young Communist League (YCL), and as such, he had the job of recruiting students for the "Party". Furthermore, the article reports that during his first years in New York, Rustin gave most of his earnings to the "Party". He reportedly left the "Party" in 1941, the article states.

The YCL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The "Daily Worker", February 11, 1957, page 1 column 2, reported that Bayard Rustin, Executive Secretary, War Resisters League, was an observer at the 16th National Convention of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), held in New York City, on February 9-12, 1957.

The "Daily Worker" was an East Coast Communist publication until it ceased publication on January 13, 1958.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on September 25, 1963, that during a meeting of the National Board, CP, USA, on that date, Benjamin J. Davis remarked that, "Rustin calls me constantly--openly."

Another confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 19, 20, 1964, that Bayard Rustin contacted Benjamin J. Davis on those dates

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Communist Influence In Racial Matters

and sought his advice as to how he could escape from a speaking engagement to which he was committed. On the latter contact, Davis told Rustin that he was working on his request and had contacted friends who had contacts with the group to which Rustin was to speak.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on January 21, 1964, that as of that date, Benjamin J. Davis was National Secretary of the CP, USA.

"The New York Times", August 24, 1964, page 27, column 4, reports that Benjamin J. Davis, National Secretary, CP, USA, died in New York City on the night of August 22, 1964.

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Communist Influence In Racial Matters

Harry Wachtel is the Executive Vice President of the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, New York, New York.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information in December, 1949, that Harry H. Wachtel, 41 Broad Street, New York, New York, was on a list of individuals carried as active members of the National Lawyers Guild.

A characterization of the National Lawyers Guild is attached hereto.

On March 5, 1944, another confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information which revealed that the name Harry Wachtel was on a list of names, significance not known, which was maintained at the Headquarters of the Kings County Communist Party (CP) at 26 Court Street, Brooklyn, New York.

Regarding Harry Wachtel's wife, Leonora, it is noted that the same confidential source furnished information on March 5, 1944, which revealed that her name and address were on a list of names of newly elected officers of the Bath Beach Club of the Kings County CP.

With respect to the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, it is to be noted that this organization is an adjunct of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), of which Martin Luther King, Jr., is the president, and serves to raise funds for the SCLC.

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[REDACTED]

On November 22, 1957, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that [REDACTED] [REDACTED] then a graduate student at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, indicated that he had made an appointment to see Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., then a member of the National Committee, Communist Party, United States of America, at Communist Party Headquarters, New York City, at 2 p.m. on November 25, 1957. According to the source, [REDACTED] indicated that he desired to confer with Davis informally since he [REDACTED] was basically interested in economics and politics.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was interviewed by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation on August 13, 1953. During this interview, Lynd advised that although he had never been a member of the Communist Party, he had joined the American Youth for Democracy (AYD) in the Fall of 1946 on the campus at Harvard University. He stated that the AYD was known as the Harvard Youth for Democracy on the campus and that he had disaffiliated himself with the AYD in June of 1947.

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The AYD has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

[REDACTED] further advised during this interview that while at Harvard University, he had also been a member of the John Reed Club for approximately two years during 1947 and 1948. He stated that approximately for one year during this period, he had served as the [REDACTED] of the John Reed Club.

"The Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications" prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. contains the following concerning the John Reed Clubs of the United States:

"1. Cited as organizations 'whose affiliation with the Communist Party is clear beyond dispute'.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, Annual Report, House Report 1476, January 3, 1940, p. 10.)"

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1.

APPENDIX

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications," revised and published as of December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., contains the following concerning the National Lawyers Guild:

"National Lawyers Guild

- "1. Cited as a Communist front.
(Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1311 on the CIO Political Action Committee, March 29, 1944, p. 149.)
- "2. Cited as a Communist front which 'is the foremost legal bulwark of the Communist Party, its front organizations, and controlled unions' and which 'since its inception has never failed to rally to the legal defense of the Communist Party and individual members thereof, including known espionage agents.'
(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 3123 on the National Lawyers Guild, September 21, 1950, originally related September 17, 1950.)
- "3. 'To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the * * * National Lawyers Guild. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these offer a bulwark of protection.'
(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 91.)"

~~SECRET~~

F B I

Date: 9/30/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL _____ REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)
SUBJECT: CIRM
IS -- C
(OO: NEW YORK)

Re New York teletype dated 9/28/65, reporting a conference which took place on that date between MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. and several of his advisors. The source of the information in the LHM was NY 3810-S*, a source close to STANLEY LEVISON.

Enclosed are ten copies of a letterhead memorandum reporting information contained in referenced teletype; three are furnished for the information of Atlanta; one copy for the information of the Philadelphia and New Haven Offices.

- 4 - Bureau (100-442529)(Encl. 10)(RM)
(1 - 100-106670)(MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)
- 3 - Atlanta (100-5586)(MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)(Encl. 3)(RM)
(1 - 100-5817)(COMINFIL SCLC)
(1 - 100-6670)(CIRM)
- 1 - New Haven (CIRM)(Encl. 1)(RM)
- 1 - Philadelphia (100-MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)(Encl. 1)(Info)(RM)
- 1 - New York (100-46729)(BAYARD RUSTIN)(#42)
- 1 - New York (100-111180)(STANLEY LEVISON)(#42)
- 1 - New York (100-136585)(MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.)(#42)
- 1 - New York (100-148289)(HARRY WACHTEL)(#42)
- 1 - New York (100-149194)(COMINFIL SCLC)(#42)
- 1 - New York (100-153735)

JMK:pcs

(16)

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

Indexed _____

Filed _____

M Per _____

100-153735-1920

R J

NY 100-153735

Sources who furnished characterizations of individuals mentioned in the LHM were as follows:

<u>Source</u>	<u>Individual Characterized</u>	
NY 694-S*	STANLEY LEVISON	
NY 2359-S*	BAYARD RUSTIN	b7D
NY 4212-S*	" "	
[redacted]	" "	
Anonymous source of WFO set forth in report of SA [redacted] 2/19/50, WFO re "NLG; IS-C".	HARRY WACHTEL	b6 b7C
NY 1190-S*	HARRY WACHTEL	
NY 2010-S*	[redacted]	b6 b7C
SAS [redacted] were the agents who interviewed [redacted]		

Letterhead is classified "~~Secret~~" because it contains information from NY 3810-S* and from NY 694-S*; the first source furnishes highly sensitive information concerning racial matters in the New York area and the Communist infiltration thereof; the second source in characterizing STANLEY LEVISON furnished a concentration of information. In view of these reasons, the "~~Secret~~" classification is deemed absolutely essential.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
September 30, 1965

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Bufile 100-442529

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-16-2012

~~SECRET~~

Communist Influence in Racial Matters
Internal Security - C

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished information on the afternoon of September 28, 1965, which disclosed that [redacted] was in contact with Clarence Jones on that date. During their contact [redacted] stated that Stanley Levison had to go to Washington, D. C., that afternoon to attend a conference of the Inter-Racial Business Men's Committee on September 29, 1965, with Humphrey (Vice President Hubert Humphrey). [redacted] said Stanley was at the Willard Hotel, Washington, D.C., but would return to New York on the night of September 29, 1965.

b6
b7c

Jones said he desired to talk to Stanley before "tomorrow" (September 29, 1965), therefore, he would contact him at the hotel.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised in April, 1965, that Stanley Levison was a secret member of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA) in July, 1963. In late 1963 and early 1964, he criticized the Communist Party (CP)

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from
automatic downgrading
and declassification~~

100-153735-1921

~~SECRET~~

Communist Influence in Racial Matters

for not being sufficiently militant in the civil rights struggle. Levison was described by certain CP leaders as being to the "left" of the Communist Party in his position on civil rights. Levison's differences with the CP, however, are merely tactical and he continues his ideological adherence to Communism.

Clarence Jones is the General Counsel to the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York, New York.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 26, 1957, that he identified a photograph of Clarence Jones as a person whom he knew during late 1953, or early 1954, to be a member of and in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League (LYL).

The LYL has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~SECRET~~

9/29/65

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

SUBJECT: CICI
IS-C
(OO: NY)

ReNYteletype, dated 9/23/65, concerning STANLEY LEVISON's plan to confer with Vice President HUMPHREY on 9/29/65.

Enclosed are ten (10) copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) reporting information not forth in referenced communication. The source of the information in the LHM was NY 3310-S*, a source close to STANLEY LEVISON. One copy of the LHM is enclosed for the information of WFO.

NY 694-S* was the source who characterized LEVISON. [redacted] chairman of the IYL, Columbia University, 1954, was the source who characterized CLARENCE JONES.

b6
b7c

This LHM is classified "~~Secret~~" because it contains information from NY 694-S* and from NY 3310-S*.

- 3-Bureau (Encls. 10) (RM)
- 1-Washington Field (100-) (CICI) (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-111100) (STANLEY LEVISON) (42)
- 1-New York

JHK:tan
(7)
1- Supervisor 42

100-153735-1922
R

NY 100-153735

NY 3810-S* is a source who furnished highly sensitive information concerning racial matters in the NY area and the communist influence thereof. NY 694-S* was the source who characterized STANLEY LEVISON and the characterization contains a concentration of information from the source. In view of these reasons the "~~Secret~~" classification is considered necessary.

FBI

Date: 10/1/65

Via AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (100-23443)

SUBJECT: CIRM *100-151548**
IS - C

OO: NEW YORK

[redacted] has been invited and expects to attend a Communist Party (CP) meeting to be held in the Board Room at CP Headquarters, 23 W. 26th St., New York, N.Y. The meeting will commence at 10:00 a.m., October 7, 1965. [redacted] understands that the central overall discussion will center around, "How to organize and lead the Negro youth in the ghettos in struggles against intolerable conditions."

b7D

The Bureau is requested to authorize \$30.00 additional expense money for [redacted] since he will have to hire someone to replace him at his job.

b7D

A letterhead memorandum will be furnished the Bureau and interested offices upon [redacted] return to Baltimore.

b7D

- 6 - Bureau REGISTERED MAIL
 - (3 - 100-442529
 - 1 - 100-3-69 CP, USA, Organ.
 - 2 - 100-332246 BA 975-S)

- ③ - New York REGISTERED MAIL
 - 2 - Cirm
 - 1 - 100-80641 CP, USA, Organ.)

- 4 - Baltimore
 - (1 - [redacted])
 - 1 - [redacted]
 - 1 - 100-12464 CP, USA, Organ.)

b7D

Rem
RCN:ers
(13)

100-153735-1923

SEARCHED <i>h</i>	INDEXED <i>h</i>
SERIALIZED <i>h</i>	FILED <i>h</i>
OCT 1 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Handwritten signatures and initials over the stamp]

gm
2

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

10/1/65

SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

CIRM

Re Bureau letter to New York, 9/24/65; New York airtel and LHM, 9/20/65.

In accordance with the instructions contained in referenced letter, the pertinent dates were rechecked, and it was determined that the dates in the referenced LHM are correct as they appear.

It is to be noted that when [redacted] invited [redacted] to the wedding reception, she mentioned that her future husband's sister is [redacted] who was married to [redacted]. Marriage records reflect that when [redacted] and [redacted] were married on 5/9/47, [redacted] was one of the witnesses.

b6
b7C

[redacted] who was married to [redacted] is identical with [redacted] who accompanied STANLEY LEVISON to Atlanta on 7/11/65. It is not quite clear why [redacted] informed the [redacted] on 6/15/47, that she was getting married at the end of the month when, in fact, she was married on 5/9/47, but perhaps she had a personal reason for doing so. For the information of the Bureau, New York rechecked the original information furnished by [redacted] and it was determined that [redacted] advised the [redacted] on June 15, 1947, that she was getting married at the end of the month.

b6
b7C

2 - Bureau (100-442529) (RM)
① - New York (100-153735) (42)

JCS:gmd

(3) *JCS*

100-153735-1926

MC

File—Serial Charge Out
 FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

648-16-83475-1 GPO

File 100 153735 Date 5/24/77
Class. Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No.	Description of Serial	Date Charged
<u>1924</u>	Serial sent to Bureau, per	
<u>1925</u>	Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,	
	titled; Bernard S. Lee v.	
	Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.	
	BuFile 62-117194d	

Section #23
Employee

RECHARGE

Date _____

To _____ From _____

Initials of Clerk { _____

Date { _____

Date Charged

Employee

Location

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
M E M O R A N D U M

TO: SAC, NEWARK DATE: 10/4/65
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-148916) (44)
SUBJECT: YOUTH AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM
IS - WWP

- 1 - Newark (100-47872) [redacted] (RM)
- 1 - [redacted] INV) (44)
- 1 - New York (100-151955) [redacted] (44)
- 1 - New York (100-50937) [redacted] (44)
- 1 - New York (100-144436) [redacted] (44)
- 1 - New York (100-151711) [redacted] (44)
- 1 - New York (100-144315) [redacted] (44)
- 1 - New York (100-152937) [redacted] (44)
- 1 - New York (100-154128) [redacted] (44)
- 1 - New York (100-154363) [redacted] (44)
- 1 - New York (100-133814) [redacted] (44)
- 1 - New York (100-151647) [redacted] (44)
- 1 - New York (100-124894) [redacted] (44)
- 1 - New York (100-129184) [redacted] (44)
- 1 - New York (100-153735) (CIRM) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-155911) [redacted] 44)
- 1 - New York (100-155203) [redacted] (44)
- 1 - New York (100-154129) [redacted] (44)
- 1 - New York [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

ALB:jaw
(19) *ALL*
NA

100-153735-1929

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 4 1965	
FBI-NEW YORK	

Deaton

NY 100-148916

Identity of Source: [redacted] (Reliable-
Conceal)

Description of Info: Info re identification
of photographs of YAWF
picket

Date received: 8/18/65

Received by: SA A. LEWIS BARNETT
(Oral)

Original Location: [redacted]

b7D

The photographs described were furnished by source on 8/18/65, and are being maintained in NY 100-148916-1B10(6).

Information received from informant was reduced to writing by SA BARNETT on 8/18/65 and authenticated by informant on 9/17/65.

A copy of informant's oral report follows:

NY 100-148916











8/18/65

The following persons appear in three photographs of individuals participating in a YAWF picket demonstration held 8/17/65 in front of the National Guard Armory at 125 West 14th Street, New York City, to protest the use of police and California National Guardsmen to stop the riots in Los Angeles.

Photograph A

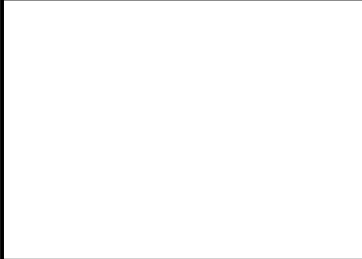
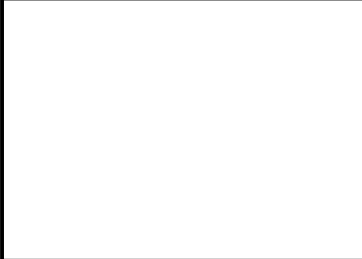
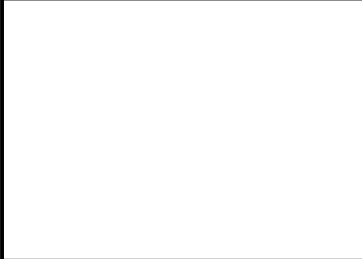
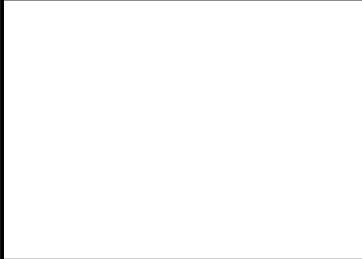
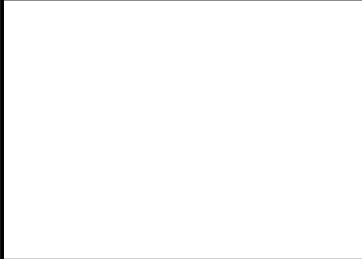
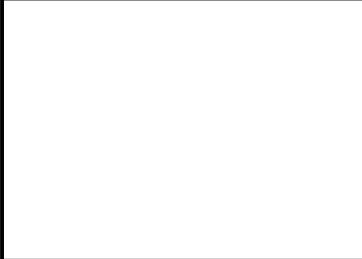
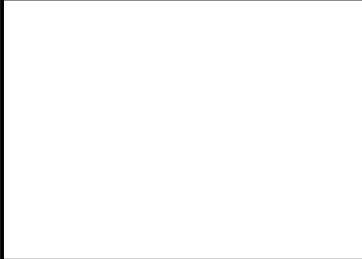
1. 

B

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9. 
10. 

b6
b7C

C

1. 
2. 
3. 
4. 
5. 
6. 
7. 
8. 

File--Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

c48-16-83475-1 GPO

File 100 153735 Date 5/24/77
Class. Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

1927 Serial sent to Bureau, per
1928 Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
BuFile 62-117194d

Section #23

Employee

RECHARGE

Date _____

To _____ From _____

Initials of Clerk

Date

Date Charged

Employee

Location

10/4/65

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (100-6670)
RE: CIRM

Re Atlanta airtel and LHM, 9/20/65, Atlanta airtel to Director, 9/24/65, and Bureau letter to Atlanta dated 10/4/65.

No information was received from Atlanta sources on 9/17/65 or subsequently thereto indicating any information as to the actual departure of STANLEY LEVISON from Atlanta on 9/17/65.

On 9/17/65, Atlanta did not consider it prudent to make overt inquiry of Eastern Airlines regarding the reservation status on that date of [redacted] and STANLEY LEVISON.

b6
b7c

3 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York (100-153735) (RM)
2 - Atlanta
AG3:cmp
(6)

100-153735-1930

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 10 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

103

10/4/65

airtel

To: SAC, Baltimore (100-23443)

From: Director, FBI (100-442529)

CIRM

ReBAairtel 10/1/65, copies to New York, requesting authorization for \$30 additional expense money for [redacted] in connection with a meeting of Communist Party, USA, functionaries to be held in New York City 10/7/65.

b7D

Authorization granted.

Insure prompt advice to Bureau of results of meeting.

① - New York (100-153735)

100-153735-1931

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 5 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

hbs

SAC, Atlanta (100-6670)

10/4/65

Director, FBI (100-442529)

CIRM

ReATairtel and LHM 9/20/65, copies to New York, which reported a trip of Stanley Levison from New York City to Atlanta 9/17/65. It was indicated that on the same date, 9/17/65, a standby reservation was made by Eastern Air Lines for a return flight by Levison.

If available, Atlanta should advise the Bureau and New York of when Levison departed Atlanta for return to New York.

① - New York (100-153735)

100-153735-1932

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 11 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Levison

SAC, NEW YORK (100-153249) 42

10/7/65

SA [redacted]

b6
b7C

CONFIDENTIAL, CORE
IS - C

On 10/7/65, [redacted] advised that a meeting of the
Staten Island Chapter, CORE, was held at the home of Chairman
[redacted] Staten Island, N.Y. on 10/5/65.
The informant stated that in addition to [redacted]
[redacted] and [redacted] were at
this meeting.

b6
b7C
b7D

The informant stated that [redacted] is very interested
in obtaining the Chairmanship of a CORE Committee organized
for the purpose of implementing the anti-poverty program in the
Staten Island area, and that she will undoubtedly receive this
position.

b6
b7C

[redacted] further advised that [redacted] continued
to reside with [redacted] following the breakup with his
wife. The informant stated that [redacted], a Negro, was married
to [redacted] a white woman, and that the latter, has
developed a great deal of animosity toward [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7D

- 1 - [redacted] Inv) 46
- 1 - 100-111573 [redacted] 46
- 1 - 100-54303 [redacted] 46
- 1 - 100-1149755 [redacted] 46
- ① - 100-153735 (encl) 42

b6
b7C
b7D

WJS:

100-153735-1933

[Handwritten signature]
[Handwritten initials]

SAC, NEW YORK (100-153249) 41

10/7/65

SA [redacted]

b6
b7C

COMINFIL, CORE
IS - C

On 9/24/65, [redacted] advised that an organizational meeting of the Staten Island Chapter, CORE, was held at the home of [redacted] in the Markham Housing Project, West Brighton, Staten Island, N.Y. on 9/15/65. According to the informant, the following members were present:

b6
b7C
b7D

[redacted]

b6
b7C

The informant advised that Hines read an announcement furnished by [redacted] requesting that members of CORE attend the open meeting of the "Staten Islanders For Peace" to be held on the following evening at the Unitarian Church Hall, Fillmore Street, Staten Island. The speaker, [redacted] was to talk on the U.S. policy in Viet Nam.

b6
b7C

The informant stated that it was learned from [redacted] that [redacted] age 18, had left home with a married man from Staten Island who is about 40 years of age. The informant stated that [redacted] and this individual are living in New Bedford, Massachusetts together, and that efforts by [redacted] to have [redacted] return home have been unsuccessful.

b6
b7C

- 1 - [redacted] (Inv) 46
- 1 - 100-54303 [redacted] 46
- 1 - 100-109585 [redacted] 46
- 1 - 100-144036 (Staten Islanders For Peace) 41
- ① - 100-153735 (CIRM) 42

b6
b7C
b7D

VJS:

100-153735-1934

[Handwritten signature and initials]

F B I

Date: 10/7/65

Transmit the following in ENCODE
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-442529)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

CIRM.

MEETING OF NATIONAL NEGRO COMMISSION OF CPUSA WAS SCHEDULED FOR OCTOBER SEVEN, SIXTY FIVE, AT COMMUNIST PARTY HEADQUARTERS, NEW YORK CITY. THE FOLLOWING INDIVIDUALS WHO COULD CONCEIVABLY BE PARTICIPANTS IN THE NEGRO COMMISSION MEETING WERE OBSERVED GOING INTO COMMUNIST PARTY HEADQUARTERS ON THIS DATE: [] GUS HALL, GEORGE MORRIS, [] [] EUGENE GORDON, SR., CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, HENRY WINSTON, [] DOT HEALEY, JAMES JACKSON, JAMES TORMEY.

b6
b7C

[] WILL COVER AND REPORT ON THIS MEETING.

b7D

① - NY 100-153735 (42)

JCS:gmd
(2) *JCS*
1 - Supv. 42

[Handwritten signature]

100-153735-1935

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent 5:37 PM Per *[Signature]*

[Handwritten mark]



~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
October 11, 1965

Bureau 100-106670

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 02-16-2012

Re: Martin Luther King
Security Matter - C

On October 10, 1965, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that on that date, Clarence Jones contacted Martin Luther King on the subject of Viet Nam. According to the source, Jones informed King of the following:

The Lawyers Committee on Policy in Viet Nam prepared a brief that was put into the Congressional record last week by Senators Gruening and Morse (probably Senators Ernest Gruening and Wayne Morse). The brief states essentially that there is no legal basis for the United States Army being in Viet Nam. A copy of the brief is to be mailed to his, Jones' office, on Monday, October 11, 1965.

On the basis of this brief, Gruening and Morse had prepared a resolution which they were about to introduce into the Senate. The basis of the resolution was that no American draftee could be sent to Viet Nam unless he consents or unless there has been prior Congressional authorization for sending him. However, President Johnson heard about the resolution and called Gruening to his office to discuss the matter and the President asked that the resolution not be introduced. The important thing was that Gruening was asked by the President to please hold off on the resolution "because I promise you that we will be out of Viet Nam by the first of January and if we are not then you and the supporters of that resolution can move forward".

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~
Group I
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification.

100-153735-1938
B
Filed

~~SECRET~~

Re: Martin Luther King
Security Matter - C

This information about the President and Gruening he, Jones, has on very reliable information from someone who works with both Morse and Gruening.

Some Senators felt the resolution would have powerful support in the Senate and would be difficult to vote against. It was discussed with Jones so that he could get the information to King in order that King could have this background information when faced with criticism of his Viet Nam policy or when making speeches or talking to government people.

The source further advised that King stated this was a very important move, and wondered if this had been leaked to the press. Jones informed him it had not been, adding that if King got in touch with Gruening or Morse, they could advise him fully. He said the persons involved wanted King to know about it.

King commented that "As I have said all along, there is much more support for my position than the press is willing to admit.... There is no doubt about it the position of our government is wrong and it is getting wronger every day".

Jones advised King that he should continue with a moral commitment but also be flexible and not be aligned to any hard peace program because King would be able to support the resolution if it is introduced. King asked to see the resolution and Jones agreed to send it to him.

The source ascertained that King also commented on the finances of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), stating that they were operating on the basis of \$3,000 a day and only raising \$800.00 per day. King said that they could not "live like this for long" and did not want to tamper with the reserve. He indicated that they might have to cut the staff or raise big money.

King said that one way they could get big money was through the tax-exempt corporation of the SCLC, which is to be called the American Foundation or American Institute on Nonviolence.

- 2 -

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

Re: Martin Luther King
Security Matter - C

Clarence Jones

Clarence Jones is the General Counsel to the Gandhi Society for Human Rights, 15 East 40th Street, New York, New York.

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on February 26, 1957, that he identified a photograph of Clarence Jones as a person whom he knew during late 1953 or early 1954 to be a member of and in a position of leadership in the Labor Youth League.

The Labor Youth League has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

File-Serial Charge Out
FD-5 (Rev. 6-17-70)

c43-16-83475-1 GPO

File 100 153735 Date 5/23/77
Class. Case No. Last Serial

Pending Closed

Serial No. Description of Serial Date Charged

1936 Serial sent to Bureau, per
1937 Buairtel to NY, dtd. 4/12/77,
titled; Bernard S. Lee v.
Clarence M. Kelley, et. al.
BuFile 62-117194d

Section #23

Employee

RECHARGE

Date _____

To _____ From _____

Initials of Clerk { _____

Date { _____

Date Charged

Employee

Location

10/11/65

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-106670)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-136535)

SUBJECT: MARTIN LUTHER KING
CL-C
(OO: Atlanta)

There are enclosed for the Bureau nine copies of a LHM containing information furnished by NY 5182-C* on 10/10/65, concerning a conversation between MARTIN LUTHER KING and CLARENCE JONES on that date. The conversation occurred telephonically between JONES, who was in New York, and KING, who was believed to be in Atlanta.

The source used to characterize JONES is Chairman, Columbia University LYL, 1954.

b6
b7c

This LHM is classified "~~Secret~~" because it contains information from NY 5182-C*, a highly sensitive source engaged in furnishing information about racial matters in the United States and Communist influence therein.

- 3 - Bureau (100-106670) (Encls. 9) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-5536) (Encls. 2) (Info) (RM)
- (1 - 100-5718) (CCLC)
- 1 - New York (100-153735) (CIRM) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-149194) (CCLC) (41)
- 1 - New York (100-73250) (CLARENCE JONES) (42)
- 1 - New York (100-136535) (42)

JFO:gnd
(10)

100-153735-1939

A rectangular stamp area with a grid pattern, overlaid with a large, handwritten signature and initials. The signature appears to be 'J. Edgar Hoover' or similar, with 'JH' written below it.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-75040)

10/11/53

SA JAMES D. O'CONNELL (40)

CLARENCE JONES
SM-3

On 10/4/53, [redacted] advised that on that date a CLARENCE JONES was in contact with [redacted] and JONES informed him that he had a Board meeting of the National Congressional Defense Committee later that day, [redacted] agreed to meet with JONES after this Board meeting. JONES inquired about [redacted] (an affair to be held at which [redacted] be the principal speaker). [redacted] said that they have 175 persons and that he has the material concerning the speech. [redacted] also said that they had raised the \$8,500 and inquired if they could contact him [redacted] and make some physical arrangements. JONES said they could, and [redacted] commented that they probably would have 600 to 700 persons there.

b6
b7C
b7D

On the same date, [redacted] advised that [redacted] (a partner in [redacted] law firm, Lubell, Lubell, and Jones, 125 Broadway, New York City) attempted to contact a Mr. [redacted] (in) at the Hotel Astoria in Leningrad, USSR. [redacted] was advised that this contact was not possible at the time because the [redacted] in Leningrad would not open until 2 a.m. New York time. The current Manhattan telephone directory lists a [redacted] at [redacted] New York City, with a business address of 149 Madison Avenue. This directory also lists a [redacted] at [redacted] who is an attorney at 717 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

b6
b7C
b7D

Information from this source must be classified "~~Secret~~" because the source is a highly sensitive one engaged in furnishing information about racial matters in the United States and Communist influence therein.

- New York (100-55040) [redacted] (47)
- New York (100-13500) (M. L. KING) (5)
- New York (100-17500) (CIRM) (42)
- New York

b6
b7C

t. [unclear]

[unclear]

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
FBI - NEW YORK	

[Signature]

100-153735-1940

SAC, NEW YORK (100-73235)

10/11/65

SA [redacted] (42)

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b7C

CLARENCE JONES
SM-C

On 9/30/65, NY 4052-S* advised that on that date CLARENCE JONES stated that one [redacted] is a director (probably of JONES' insurance company, Intra-American Life Corporation).

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On the same date according to the source, JONES stated that the Gandhi Society had gotten its tax exemption and that a [redacted] (ph) should call HARRY WACHTEL regarding the manner in which a \$20,000.00 loan should be handled.

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CLARENCE JONES was advised by an accountant for [redacted] [redacted] (ph) that the Gandhi Society had gotten its tax exemption and that further information could be obtained through HARRY WACHTEL. The accountant had inquired about a contribution to this society.

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Information from this source must be classified "~~Secret~~" because the source is a highly sensitive one engaged in furnishing information about racial matters in the United States and Communist influence therein.

- 1 - New York: (100-148233) (HARRY WACHTEL) (42)
- 1 - New York: (100-173235) (CITIZ) (42)
- 1 - New York:

100-151546

JFO:gam
(3)

Wachtel

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....	FILED.....
FBI - NEW YORK	

Wachtel

100-153735-1941

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-457754)

OCT 13 1965

SAC, NEW YORK (100-153735)

COMMUNIST
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)
IS - C

ReBulet to Atlanta, dated 10/4/65.

The following is a summary of the information obtained from files of the NYO, public directories, and recent protest inquiries by Special Agents of the NYO relative to the office set up of SCLC in NY:

There are SCLC offices at 200 West 57th Street, Manhattan, New York, and 512 West 125th Street, Manhattan, New York. Each office had only one employee:

[Redacted] at [Redacted] and [Redacted] at [Redacted]

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Recently, NY 3010-S* indicated MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., and CHARLES REVISION discussed closing the 125th Street Office, but KING pointed out that they would be subject to criticism if they closed the office and decided against it. It is noted the 125th Street Office is in the Harlem area of NYC.

The 57th Street Office, located in the Spanish area of Manhattan, shares its office space in Room 1501 of 200 West 57th Street, with the United Negro College and

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- 2 - Bureau (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-5710) (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-153735) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.)
- 1 - New York (97-1703) (LOUIS - HOWE - FLORENCE - LOUISIANA BRITAINERS, INC.)
- ① - New York (100-153735) (CLM)
- 1 - New York

HSD:car
(10) car

100-153735-1962

SEARCHED	INDEXED
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OCT 13 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Seaton

NY 100-149194

Enclosed herewith is a xerox copy of NY letter to Bureau, dated 12/19/63, captioned "CLARENCE B. JONES, SM - C". This letter summarized the information available in NY files concerning [redacted] NYO indices, negative re United Negro College Press.

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Information from NY and Atlanta sources indicates that no policy decisions are made by the employees of SCLC offices in New York. Their function is ministerial in nature and all matters of policy in the NY area are handled by HARRY WACHTEL, STANLEY LIVINGSTON, BAYARD RUSTIN and CLARENCE JONES outside of the SCLC offices. Therefore, any penetration of the SCLC offices would produce information of only limited value. The establishment of informant coverage through the two present employees of SCLC in NY is extremely remote. As the Bureau has pointed out, with only one employee in each office, the possibility of penetration is remote. However, the NYO has established security informants who could be requested to make periodic visits to the SCLC offices for the purpose of obtaining information.

No further action will be taken by the NYO until advised by the Bureau.

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-430794)

OCT 12 1965

SAC, NEW YORK (100-149194)

CONNELL
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)
IS - C

ReBulet to Birmingham, dated 10/5/65.

The following comments are being made in response to the information in referenced letter that [redacted] had been offered \$14,000.00 by the Communist Party (CP) and JAMES ORANGE had been offered \$18,000.00 a year to work for the CP:

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No information has come to the attention of the NYO through informants concerning this matter. The NYO concurs with the Bureau's belief that the allegation by [redacted] does not appear consistent with the known party efforts to infiltrate civil rights activities or the manner in which such a position in the party would be offered.

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The salaries mentioned appear extremely high. The NYO is not aware that the party has ever paid a salary such as \$18,000.00 per year, even to the national leaders of the party. However, the NYO is not fully cognizant of the connection [redacted] has with any CP activity or his connection with [redacted]. In addition, the NYO has insufficient information on [redacted] to evaluate the veracity of any statement made by him concerning the CP.

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- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-5710) (RM)
- 2 - Birmingham (157-115) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-136585) (MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.)
- ① - New York (100-153735) (CIRM)
- 1 - New York

HPB:car
(11) *car*

100-153735-1943

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
OCT 14 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Director
pc

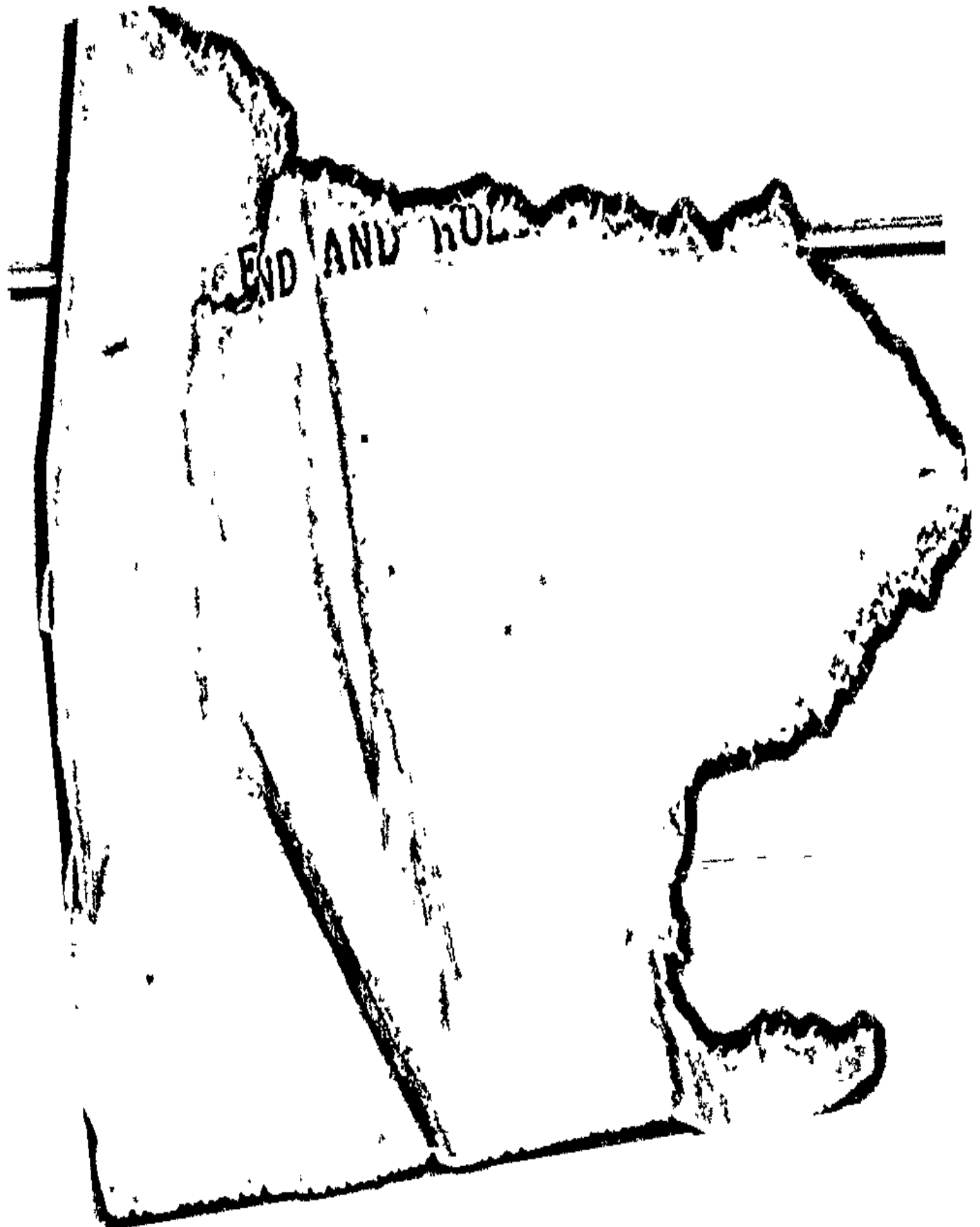
NY 100-149194

As the Bureau is aware, CG 5324-S* furnished information indicating [redacted] would receive \$5,000.00 for Party organization and activity in the civil rights field. It does not appear consistent that a man as conversant with the Negro population as [redacted] would receive only \$5,000.00, while [redacted] received a salary of \$18,000.00.

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The NYO will be alert to any additional information from sources which pertains to this matter.

The above information furnished by CG 5324-S* should not be utilized in a report for protection of the informant.



FBI

Date: 10/14/65

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (105-16238) (P)
SUBJECT: CIRM 100-151548
ATLANTA FILE 100-6670
BUREAU FILE 100-442529

COMINFIL OF SCLC
IS - C
ATLANTA FILE 100-5718
BUREAU FILE 100-438794

Re Atlanta airtel and letterhead memorandum to the Bureau dated 10/1/65.

Referenced communication requested the Chicago and New York Divisions to furnish results of indices check regarding [redacted] it being noted that [redacted] Office is located in New York City, New York, telephone number Gramercy 5-0850.

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Chicago Division indices were reviewed on 10/11/65. Based on available information contained in referenced communication, the Chicago Division indices contain no information identifiable with [redacted]

- 4 - Bureau (RM)
 - (3 - 100-442529) (CIRM)
 - (1 - 100-438794) (SCLC)
- 5 - Atlanta (RM)
 - (1 - 100-6670) (CIRM)
 - (1 - 100-5718) (SCLC)
 - (1 - 100-6670A)
 - (1 - 100-5586) (M.L. KING)
 - (1 - 157-710) (DOROTHY GAINES)
- 2 - New York (RM) (Info)
- 2 - Chicago
 - (1 - 100-35356) (M.L. KING)

JPO/ejh
(13)

100-153735-1944
SEARCHED MA INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____
OCT 15 1965
NEW YORK

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

SAC, ATLANTA (100-)

10/13/65

SAC, NEW YORK (100-73250)

CLARENCE JONES
SM-C
(OO:NY)

On 9/21/65, NY 4092-C* advised that on that date, [redacted] was in contact with CLARENCE JONES. [redacted] wanted [redacted] of group [redacted] (ph), [redacted] (ph), [redacted] (ph), [redacted] (ph), and [redacted] (ph). From the Grand Committee and add [redacted] (ph), [redacted] (ph), and [redacted] (ph). JONES said he was in favor of the three additional people but wanted to retain [redacted]. [redacted] They agreed to discuss the matter in detail later on.

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Information from NY 4092-C* is to be classified "~~SECRET~~" because this source is engaged in furnishing information about racial matters in the US and Communist influence therein.

- 2-Atlanta (100-) (RM)
- (1-100-5733) (SOLE)
- 1-New York (100-149194) (SOLE) (7/41)
- 1-New York (100-103066) [redacted]
- 1-New York (100-23121) [redacted]
- 1-New York (100-43222) [redacted]
- 1-New York (100-99245) [redacted]
- ①-New York (100-153735) (OIR:NY)
- 1-New York

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100-153735-1945

SEARCHED.....	INDEXED.....
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OCT 14 1965	
FBI - NEW YORK	

Heater

HCO: [redacted]
(9)